

A STUDY OF DOLLS

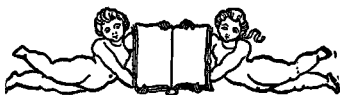
BY

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A Study of Dolls.

By A. CASWELL ELLIS AND G. STANLEY HALL.

Dolls have so long been one of the chief toys of children, and are now so nearly universal among both savage and civilized peoples, that it is singular that no serious attempt has ever been made to study them. The topic of this paper is not only relatively new, but the field it opens is one of vast complexity, many sided interest and of the greatest significance, both for psychology and pedagogy. When a thoughtful mother asks what is the best form, size, material, amount of elaborateness or mechanical devices, dress, paraphernalia, degree of abandon in doll play, proper and improper imitations of human life, whether doll play was instinctive with, and good for boys as well as girls, or for any generalizations concerning dolls' names, doll families, dolls' diseases, the age at which the doll instinct is strongest, when it legitimately declines, whether paper dolls precede, follow, or co-exist with dolls of three dimensions, doll anatomy, doll psychology, the real source of the many instincts that are expressed in doll play, its form among savage races, whether it is related to idolatry, and if so, how;—for answer to nearly all these problems, one would search the meager and fragmentary doll literature in vain. Indeed, this paper, imperfect as it is, is the first to call

attention to the importance of a strangely neglected, new, but exceedingly rich psychogenetic field.

It was considerations like these that led one of us (G. S. H.), after a careful preliminary survey, based on informal examinations of many children of different ages, in which he was greatly aided by Miss Sara E. Wiltse, to print and circulate among about eight hundred teachers and parents the following questionnaire:

The data desired are juvenile feelings, acts, or thoughts toward any object which represents a baby or a child.

1. Describe your dolls and get children to do the same; whether of wax, rags, paper, pasteboard, rubber, china, wood, stone, etc., and give instances where clothes-pins, nails, bottles, vegetables, sticks, flowers, keys, button-hooks, etc., have been regarded as dolls in any respect or in any degree.

2. Feeding. What foods, liquid or solid, and how are they given? Describe imaginary foods, dishes, spoons, and other utensils. Is there any regularity or system in feeding, and are hunger, starvation, food preferences, or growth imagined?

3. Medicines, diseases. What diseases, pains, symptoms are imagined? How is sympathy shown? What drugs are given? How, and with what conceptions. Imaginary doll doctors, their visits and functions. Surgical operations, etc.

4. What constitutes the death of a doll? Funeral services, and burial of dolls. When lost or crushed do children assume a future life for the doll, and does this assuage their grief?

5. Give details of psychic acts and qualities ascribed to dolls, and show how real, how treated, etc., are their feelings of cold, fatigue, anger, pain, jealousy, love, hate, goodness, and badness, modesty, tidiness, etc. Is any individuality or are oral or other characters consistently and persistently ascribed to dolls?

6. Dolls' names. Are they of real persons, and, if so, is there any resemblance, real or fancied?

7. Accessories and furnishings, toilet articles, clothes, beds, tables, and dishes, trunks, fashion and its changes, toys for the doll, etc. How far in fact are these carried, and how far should they be? What dangers if any here?

8. Doll families, and the relationship of the members? doll schools, doll parties, balls, entertainments, weddings.

9. Doll discipline, hygiene, and regimen. What toilet and what rewards and punishments are usual, and what moral qualities are aimed at?

10. Doll's sleep. How are they put to sleep? What are the favorite lullabies, and does the doll's sleep keep the children good and quiet?

11. Dress. What is the influence of dolls upon the children? Can taste in dress, tidiness, thoroughness in making their clothes, or other moral qualities be cultivated. How does the material of which the doll is made and the degree of life like perfection react on the child? Is there regularity and persistency in the care of dolls? Is imagination best stimulated by rude dolls, which can be more freely and roughly used? Are children better morally, religiously, socially, or better prepared for parentalhood and domestic life by them? How can the educational value of dolls be better brought out?

The above points are intended to be merely suggestive, and are of course far more comprehensive than any returns are expected to be.

Read this syllabus and write down with accuracy any facts which memory or observation may suggest, carefully specifying age, sex, and nationality.

Or, if practical, question children, or if in a normal school, let teachers take this syllabus as a lesson on the blackboard in the psychology of childhood, and each record memory or observation.

Returns addressed as below will be carefully edited, credited, printed.

G. STANLEY HALL.

Clark University,
Worcester, Mass., Nov., 1894.

This brought the following returns: Miss Lillie Williams, State normal school, New Jersey, 203 papers; St. George's high school, Edinburgh, Scotland, 67; from Miss Jenny Merrill, New York city, 53; N. Y., 105; Miss S. E. Wiltse, 26; Miss Mary White, 18; and 176 from miscellaneous sources, making in all 648. These returns were of very varied degrees of merit. Some were long letters of reminiscence by adults, others were observations by mothers and others, of the doll history of individual children. Others were school compositions by pupils of high and normal schools; 94 boys are reported on, the rest are girls; 96 are reminiscence, the majority of all were written by females between 14 and 24. Altogether, this constituted a stack of thousands of pages of manuscript. After a considerable time spent by both of us in a preliminary

survey of this material, it was decided that, intractable as it was, and lacking in uniformity, it merited as careful a statistical treatment as could be given it, and this laborious task was finally undertaken by one of us (A. C. E.), who also conducted quite a voluminous correspondence, gathered the literary references with careful epitomes thereof, selected and condensed typical cases from the returns, preserving every salient phrase and incident, and issued the following supplementary syllabus to get better statistical results:

Will each person receiving this, kindly answer, briefly, on this paper and return it to the address below? State age and sex.

1. Did you ever play with dolls? 2. Did you specially enjoy it? 3. At about what age did you begin and stop? Age in figures. 4. Did you ever play with paper dolls? 5. At what age did you begin and stop? 6. Did paper dolls dull your interest for other dolls? 7. Did you ever play with anything else as a doll, such as a cat, pillow, vegetable, stick, clothes-pin, etc.; either dressed or without dress? 8. Did you enjoy this as much as your real dolls? 9. Had you plenty of child companions? 10. Did you prefer playing with dolls alone or with other children? 11. Did you prefer old and well-used or new dolls? 12. Between the ages of one and six did you prefer large or small dolls? 13. From one to five did you prefer your doll to be, and be dressed as, a baby, child, or adult? 14. Did your love of dolls grow out of love for a real baby? 15. When you stopped playing dolls was it because your love was transferred to a real baby? 16. Why did you stop playing dolls? 17. Describe your favorite doll, or any other, if you had no favorite? 18. How did you chiefly punish dolls when you were under six? 19. How when older? 20. At what age did you first play that dolls died? 21. Did you ever try to feed dolls? 22. Did you ever think your dolls were hungry? 23. Did you ever think your dolls were sick? 24. Did you ever think your dolls were cold, tired, hungry, good, bad, jealous, loving you, hating any one? 25. Which of the following ways of playing with dolls were your favorites; (1), Dressing and washing, or sewing for dolls; (2), Feeding; (3), Nursing; (4), Funerals or burials; (5), Doll parties, weddings or schools; (6), Punishing; (7), Putting to sleep; (8), Making imaginary companions of your dolls to talk with and tell your secrets, or to build air castles with? 26. Do you know a mother now very fond

of her children who was not fond of dolls as a girl?
29. Do you know a woman who was very fond of dolls but is not now very fond of children?

A. CASWELL ELLIS,
Clark University,
Worcester, Mass.

June 1, 1896.

In answer to this returns were received from many sources, as indicated in table I.

A large part of these returns coming from abnormal or very young children, they required a deal of patient and pains-taking labor on the part of the teachers reporting, and special thanks are due Miss Jenny Merrill and the ladies who assisted her with the work among the foreign children in New York; to Miss Veits, Miss Micks, Miss Streeter and others who worked with the youngest children in Worcester schools; to Miss Aborn and others of the Boston Practice school for similar work; to Miss Fuller and her staff for returns from the deaf and dumb; to Dr. Anagnos, Miss Lilley and others for work done in Perkins Institute and in the kindergarten for blind at Jamaica Plains; and to Dr. Fernald, Miss Sanderson, and other teachers for similar assistance among the feeble-minded at Waverly. That this statement was omitted in the article as it appeared in the "Pedagogical Seminary" is an unfortunate oversight for which the present writer apologizes to those who so generously and ably assisted him. The only excuse that can be offered is that the proof was examined by piecemeal and never seen as a whole till after publication. A. C. E.

These latter returns were given to Dr. Hall, under whose supervision they were tabulated, and to whom Mr. Ellis's tables, correspondence, digests, conclusions, suggestions, and everything else were turned over, and who must, therefore, bear the responsibility of the attempt herewith made to present such account of all these varied data as he is able to do under limitations of both time and space, which are such as leave much to be desired. He has also freely added inferences, data, etc.

I. MATERIAL OF WHICH DOLLS ARE MADE, SUBSTITUTES, AND PROXIES.

Of 845 children, with 989 preferences, between the ages of three and twelve, 191 preferred wax dolls, 163 paper dolls, 153 china dolls, 144 rag, 116 bisque dolls, 83 china and cloth, 69 rubber, 12 china and kid, 11 pasteboard, 7 plaster of paris, 6 wood, 3 knit, with a few each for papier-maché, clay, glass, cotton, tin, celluloid, French, Japanese, brownies, Chinese, sailor, negro, Esquimaux, etc. Many children giving several as equally desirable, or their preferences have changed and many prefer the substitute to the real doll.

We have grouped as substitutes objects used and treated by children as if they were dolls. Such treatment always involves ascribing more or less psychic qualities to the object, and treating it as if it were an animate or sentient thing. Nothing illustrates the strength of the doll instinct and the vigor of the animistic fancy like the following list of doll substitutes: In answers to the first syllabus, pillows were treated as dolls by 39 children, who often tied strings around the middle of the pillow, using a shawl for the skirt; sticks, 29, these sometimes dressed in flowers, leaves, and twisted grass; bottles, 24, filled with different colored water, and called different people, some with doll head corks; cob or ear of corn, 19 (red ears favored, corn silk for the hair, a daisy perhaps serving for a hat); dogs, 18; cats and kittens, 15, shawls, 14, flowers, 12, clothes-pins, 11, (one a sailor, one a woman, some times both, used as servants), blocks, 9, children, 7, pieces of cloth, 7, daisies, 6 (taking off all but two petals, marking eyes, and making grass mothers), newspapers, 6, stuffed elephants, 6 (seemed like a real baby), clothes pegs, 5, peanuts, 5, stick of wood, 5, apples, 4, clay pipes, 4, kindergarten material, 4, handkerchiefs, 4, mud and clay, 4, chairs and stools, 3, buttons, 3, potatoes, 3 (one end the head, with eyes,

matches used for arms and legs), wish bones, 3, ninepins, 3, squashes, 3, toothpicks, 3, vegetables, 3, yarn strings, 3. Two each are the following: acorns, aprons, bootjacks, feathers, doughnuts, cucumbers, spools, shells, pumpkins (dressed in own clothes), towels (knotted in middle), rubber balls, brooms (dressed in bolster case), nails, bed posts, sticks of candy (dressed), button-hooks, keys, and umbrellas.

One each are the following: box, jug, coat, orange peel, cribbage peg, chicken, whisk broom, board with face painted on it, croquet ball, dish top, finger of a person dressed as doll, hand dressed as doll, with thumb and finger wrapped up for arms, water bottle, celery, one corner of a blanket (the other was mother), log, shoe, curtain tassel, roll of batting, bundle from the store, turkey wing, named Dinah, washboard (two legs, so much like a man), wooden spoon, weed, piece of lath, salt bag stuffed, fish (?), piece of Porter-house steak (?), sweet potato, stuffed stocking, stuffed cat, hitching-post (so dressed up as to scare horses), stick of stove wood, tongs, toy monkey, radish, scissors in a spool, sheet, shoulder blanket, stone block, spoon, petunia (push stem through for head and neck), pin, pronged stick (looked like arms and legs), linen book rolled up and marked, knife, fork and spoon (called servants), knitting-needles, lead-pencil, half-burned matches (black for hair), marbles, oranges, penholder, beets, grapes (pulp for heads, splints for arms and legs, set sailing in cucumber boats), geraniums, green peaches (with pins for arms and legs), gate posts (by a party of children), gourds, hickory nuts, hollyhocks, horse-chestnuts (pins for arms and legs), cuffs rolled up, dress folded, fuchsia, feather, forks, glass, corn husks, beans, berries, cradle quilt, carrot, crochet-hook, hair-brush, cane, cricket, clamp, carpenter's plane, axle of toy cart, a bench, books, balls, bric-a-brac, bleeding heart petals are clothes, and the rest a lady sailing in rose-leaf boat, with hair of corn silk, bit of rope, and of earthen.

In reply to the supplementary questions, out of 579 children, 57 had used a cat as a doll, 41 clothes pins, 26 sticks, 21 vegetables, 20 a pillow. Only 26 of all these were boys.

As an instance of flower dolls, one correspondent writes: I often took pansies for dolls because of their human faces; the rose I revered too much to play with, it was like my best wax doll, dressed in her prettiest, but always sitting in state in a big chair in some secluded corner where little visitors would not spy her out. I loved these nature dolls far better than the prettiest store dolls and ascribed special psychic qualities to them. The hepaticas seemed delicate children to be tenderly cared for, but which soon drooped and faded. Violets were sturdy little ones which enjoyed a frolic and could be played with. The pansy was a willing, quick, bright flower child, the rose her grown up sister, pretty, always charmingly dressed, but a quiet and sedate spectator. Violets were shy, good natured children, but their pansy cousins were often naughty and would not play. The hepaticas were invalids and cripples who watched their livelier brothers and sisters and were entertained by stiff maiden aunts, marigolds, with long curls. The dahlias were colored servants and mammies; yellow violets mischievous, fun-loving boys; sweet peas were the nurses with cap and kerchief on; the morning-glories were governesses and teachers. I often made little boats to give my flower dolls rides on the river. We built harbors, but in rough weather so many lives were lost that our pleasure was marred.

In kindergarten, a teacher writes: nothing interests the little girls so much as to take sphere, cylinder, or cube, wrapping them in handkerchief to have "a baby," putting it into the long box of second gift for the cradle; the boys often share this play.

A girl of 3 lavished her affection on a rude wooden foot stool. It was on end, its legs were arms and feet, and it was dressed, named stooly, nursed when sick, taken to bed and table, taught to read and write, fed, and various parts of the body imagined. A scratch on the joint was a sore. A child of two did the same with an old red slipper; another with a bottle with cork head, eyes, necklace; another with a bit of Parian marble; another with a covered brick, till her mother fancied living things grew uninteresting. My own boy had a long craze for a big stuffed elephant and for a stove hook.

Mud dolls are sometimes sick at first, but when dry are well. A shawl doll had no heart, so a ball was put in its folds so it could live and love.

Colored dolls sometimes need no clothing, "because they are so black nobody can see." A colored doll may be specially liked because others hate it, but fair hair and blue eyes are the favorites. When detected in "dollifying" very intractable objects children often show signs of self-consciousness and even shame. Besides the good and bad looks, dress, etc., of dolls, there are other influences that mediate likes and dislikes that we are not yet able to explain. A bottle resembled its giver and so took his name. Complimentary or uncomplimentary remarks of others often have much to do, but dispraise seems almost as apt to increase love as to diminish it. Real or fancied resemblance to people liked or disliked is a factor, and so is the feeling for the person who gave the doll, but why some dolls get all the whippings and others all the favors it is often very hard to ascertain.

The rudest doll has the great advantage of stimulating the imagination by giving it more to do than does the elaborately finished doll. It can also enter more fully into the child's life, because it can be played with more freely without danger of being soiled or injured. With rude dolls, too, the danger of both hypertrophy and of too great prolongation of the doll instinct is diminished. As between large and small dolls it would appear that dolls of from four to twelve inches are more common, and that interest in very large and very small dolls is later and less normal. It is against large, elegant French dolls which teach love of dress and suggest luxury, and against dolls with too many mechanical devices, as for winking, walking, speaking, and singing, that the Russian Toy Congress has so strongly protested. Rather small and durable dolls, soft enough not to hurt, flexible, with two or three colors and not more than two or three plain garments, along with plenty of hints regarding clothes, pins, flowers, and other varied material;—something like this seems to be the suggestion for a first doll, with

increasing variation in size, material, elaborateness, and number till the doll passion vanishes in two dimensions, with innumerable paper dolls, towards adolescence.

Dolls are often said to grow, more commonly large, but often when the owner is growing fast the doll grows small. A doll that squeaks is said to talk; a coat of paint is a dress; pictures of dolls sometimes take the place of dolls themselves; new babies are sometimes treated as, and even thought to be, dolls; children who have no proxies are few, and those who never played with dolls exceedingly rare. For dolls' hair, hemp ravellings, wool, split grass, corn silk, bits of fur, shavings, one's own hair, feathers, hair painted on, are used, and combing and dressing dolls' hair is a favorite occupation. Toilet accessories for this purpose are infrequent. Eyes are often made of buttons, seeds, pins; rings are painted or inked on; the brow is less cared for, but eyes that open and shut are greatly desired. Although the first feature to appear, young children care far less for eyes than for the softness and flexibility that appeals to touch. Open eyes are sometimes covered with bits of paper when the doll sleeps, or "to make it dark." The oldest child often cares less for dolls or is interested in them later than the younger children. Dolls may lose the head, limbs or body, and if they are replaced, generally, though not always, retain their identity. The first doll is sometimes remembered with peculiar interest. The function of joints suggests several interesting psychological problems, regarding movement, will, expression, etc. A doll that can be taken everywhere as well as treated every way is a sure favorite. Cut-out pictures of the most varied things play an important rôle. Interest in school and books has an important influence on the doll passion, often eliminating it. Almost every conceivable whim and freak is illustrated here. Dolls that can be washed all over are often favorites.

Children are often under a long delusion concerning the material of which dolls are made. Even long after it is *known* that they are wood, wax, etc., it is *felt* that they are of skin, flesh, etc. To find a doll's head hollow or that it is sawdust, while it suggests to very young children the same as contents of their own body, is with older children a frequent source of disenchantment and sometimes marks the sudden end of the doll period. In some cases allowances for the doll's moral or physical disabilities are made on account of the material of which they are found to consist. Wooden dolls will not bend; so are obstinate. Babies are differentiated as "meat dolls," but the differences of temperature are noted with strange rarity. It is singular how slowly and late children learn what the "hard things" under their own skin (bones) are, and how easily, after a trifling injury, they think the body a bag of blood, or somehow get the impression that they are blown up and grow by inflation, or are themselves full of sawdust or of stomach, which fills even arms and legs. Discussions with skeptical brothers, who assert that the doll is nothing but wood, rubber, wax, etc., are often met with a resentment as keen as that vented upon missionaries who declare that idols are but stocks and stones, or, to come near home, upon those who assert cerebral, automatic or necessitarian theories of the soul.

In our returns curly hair is preferred to straight, red cheeks are a special point of beauty, as are red knees in fewer cases. Boy dolls are only about one-twelfth of all, and it is remarkable how few dolls are babies, rather than little adults. Children are very prone to focus their interest upon peculiar slippers, shoes, the upward or downward look of the eyes, some peculiar turn and carriage of the head, some cute expression, "like a clown," "funny as if it were going to cry or shout," "stuck up," "smiling," "sweet," "tanned," etc. Some particular dress, name, com-

plexion, or even defect is often focussed on. Aversions follow the same rule.

Of 579 answers to questions 13, 14 and 15 of the supplementary paper, 463 reported for the age below five as follows: 266 preferred babies, 126 children and 71 adults. From 5 to 10, 314 reported, of whom 105 preferred babies, 159 children, and 50 adult dolls. From 10 to 15 years of age, 45 reported a preference for babies, 64 for children, and 32 for adults. On the whole, babies were thus preferred 416 times and children and adults 502 times. Children lead babies after the age of five, the ratio of adult dolls increasing with age. Boys' dolls are least often infants. Among 45 feeble-minded girls the ratio of dolls as babies is highest.

Out of 579 answers to the second questionnaire, 88 mentioned preference for blue, 27 for brown, and 8 for black eyes. As to hair preferences, 118 mention light, 62 curly, 27 dark, 8 real, and 5 red hair; while 15 mention love for red cheeks, 7 nice teeth, 8 pretty hands or feet, 3 red lips.

Some children have a strong preference for old dolls, however ugly, and are indifferent to new ones, however fine; some love and some hate heirloom dolls. Some have sudden changes of affection; an old doll that has been long loved is perhaps suddenly repelled, thrown or given away, or even burned, and a new favorite chosen. Some never like lady or Japanese dolls, but their affection has a very limited range. Children with many dolls often have one for Sunday, or one is queen, mother, or teacher; some profess to be absolutely impartial, loving all their dolls exactly alike. Often a sudden craze for doll dressmaking, hair combing, fantastic buttons, very small or very large dolls, shoes, hats, movable eyes, are reported, suggesting something akin to Kraft-Ebing's fetichism on the one hand, and the strange focussing on single features of face or dress seen in children's

drawings on the other, and indicating how psychic growth tends to focalize, now in this, now in that direction, as is seen again in Mr. Small's study of school fads. This we consider a point of great importance and suggestiveness for school work when fully wrought out. Mind may have its nascent periods, like the body. Now interest centers on hair, which must be in long braids, or otherwise done up, or be worn short, parted sideways, banged. Now it is a fat, round, baby face, plump red cheeks, teeth, pretty neck, joints, that are doted on. So it is with articles of dress, etc.

II. PSYCHIC QUALITIES.

The following psychic qualities are ascribed to dolls in the order of frequency of their recurrence, the figures indicating the number of cases: good 97, cold 54, jealous 46, bad 45, angry 38, naughty 36, loving 35 (bad and naughty together equalling 81, should thus, really, be second in order), tired 33, crying 18, feels 16, pain 27, clean 15, feels warm 12, sleepy 12, tidy 12, cross 10, hungry 8, quiet 6, proud 6, sorrowing 6, mischievous 6, feeling hurt 6, stupid 6, modest 4, lonesome 4, kind 4, desiring something 4, dirty 4, patient 4, taste 4, seeing 3, talkative 3, obedient 3, smell 2, truthful 2, thoughtful 2, sly 2, stubborn 2, "sassy" 2. The following psychic qualities were fully brought out in one case each: comfortable, contented, cleanly, blushing, honest, gentle, frightened, ill at ease, lady-like, making faces, sings, scolds, sneers, full of life, troublesome, too thoughtful, pure, proper, moral, lying, well educated, religious, prone to run away, democrat, presbyterian, rich, baptist, idiotic.

Of the 579 answers to the supplementary syllabus, question 26 foots up as follows: 230 children thought their dolls good; 202 thought they felt cold; 185 that

they could love; 183 that they felt tired; 161 that they could be hungry; 135 that they were sometimes bad; 77 that they were jealous; 58 that they hated. The smallest proportion of girls ascribing these qualities to dolls were over 13, and the next least come the feeble-minded children.

Although these sixty-five terms can hardly be designated as so many qualities, they, too, open a rich field for psychology. Interesting essays are waiting to be written on such topics as modesty for dolls, what constitutes their goodness and badness, its relation to good and bad looks, being good and bad all the time and alternating, doll penalties, their sense of fatigue, their power to sit still, their stupidity and obstinacy, their propensity to sleep or be wakeful, their affection, etc. Out of 45 children specially cross-questioned, aged six to eight, 8 boys and 22 girls thought dolls felt cold, 1 boy and 13 girls thought not. Out of 34 children of the same age 4 boys and 18 girls thought dolls felt tired, 2 boys and 10 girls thought not. Out of 48 children of the same age, specially questioned, 3 boys and 8 girls thought dolls got angry, 6 boys and 25 girls said no, and 6 were in doubt. Of 45 children asked whether their dolls loved them, 10 boys and 29 girls thought yes, none no, 6 did not know. Of 45 children questioned 1 boy and 2 girls said dolls hated some one, 8 boys and 24 girls thought not, 2 boys and 8 girls were in doubt. Psychic qualities are often suggested by looks, dress, or fancied resemblance to some one thought to have good or bad qualities, while colored dolls, brownies, German, Chinese and other dolls are often fancied, especially by boys, because they are "funny" or exceptional.

Almost all doll play involves the assumption of psychic qualities, but a few illustrations are added:

F., 18 (girl 18) writes: I went to dolls with all my childish trials and felt relieved when I had poured out my heart to them. F., 16, I supposed they were real children and would

talk to them and laugh. F., 15. Her name is a real person's name, and she is just as real to me as a real baby. F., 16. I thought my dolls had the same feelings as persons. Another writes: My dolls were my most sympathetic friends and had all my confidence as no one else did, nothing would keep me still longer than to have a doll to talk to. "I had a great habit of describing all things to my dolls." "My doll and I were great comrades. I talked over everything, and it was pleasant to think her a companion like myself, although I never lost sight of the fact that it was only china." "I was so fond of dolls that I cared little for children's company." "All stories that I heard were told over to my dolls." F., 17. "How would you like to be thrown down like that?" (F., 7). "Dolly was very angry when I wouldn't let her go to see the other children;" "I knew that my dolls had vitality and mind;" "my baby doll gives me no rest day or night, she is better if I take her out." F., 11. "When I found dolly lying out on the ground I thought I could see tears in her eyes, she was so hungry and cold." F., 14. "Two of my dolls had their heads broken off, but this made no difference in my treatment, for they seemed endowed with life and feeling." "One day we were invited to a party, and I would not let Rose (dolly) go, because she had been naughty, but she cried so, and said she would be good, that I let her go." F., 12. "Dolly had been naughty, and instead of taking her out to ride, I made her sit in a chair all day." F., 11. "A fifth grade girl would kiss and 'poor' her doll after spanking her, but once, after a specially severe punishment, was filled with remorse for days." "I talked to my doll as if it could hear, and thought it could." "I thought my dolls were real, but they weren't."

When three, M. was given a doll, which she cherished till arms, legs, and hair were gone, and it was a painful sight, her mother burned it; though she had plenty of others far prettier, she cried all night and almost all day. Her intense grief lasted a week. Three years afterward I asked her where Alice was; she began to cry and said: "Why did you burn it, I loved it so, and she loved me. She is in God's house and sometime I will see her." "One Sunday dolly soiled her dress, and F., 4, asked if Goddy would care if she washed it, so it would be clean Sunday. That night she prayed forgiveness, saying to God, that is your own day, you know, and she must be clean. Then dolly had to pray for forgiveness for spoiling her dress and making Sunday work." F., 8. "My dolls can educate their minds in school. They are too young to marry. I am afraid they would get tired, or sick, or hungry. They like fruit and oat meal for breakfast, soup and milk for dinner." "My cousins would get and talk to my doll and report her answers. It hurt me that

she should talk to them while she never would to me, and I would gaze at her expectantly when I got her back, hoping she would some day open that rigid mouth and talk to me." "One night my doll was accidentally left outdoors; it stormed, and I lay awake and cried, thinking she would be just as frightened as I would. For days after it was found I watched anxiously, fearing sickness." "I cried when my doll was found with cracked cheeks, because I thought it hurt her." "F., 11, brought home from Europe a German doll, with whom she would speak only German, because, as she said with all seriousness, dolly could not understand English. German was hard for the girl to speak." "I thought my doll had only the sense of sight, and when I doubted that, asked my mother, who said she could see as well as other dollies. Then I knew she saw, though I thought not so well as I." "Once the mice gnawed dolly and let bran out. She then became an invalid, confined to her bed, and I loved her most of all." "F., 4, was very fond of pretty things and hated what was ugly, yet, with many pretty dolls, her heart was wholly given to a clumsy old green cricket. This she called dear dolly, would carry it tenderly in her arms, pat, kiss, and rock it. When her father once put his feet on it, she caught it up saying: Oh, don't! you didn't know it was my dolly. She could not sleep without it in her arms." "Rose, a rag doll, had been stolen, returned and hid in the attic by the mother, fearing disease. F., 4, wondered, and soon made a new use of the doll's personality. If reproved, would say, Rosa told me I might, or Rosa broke it." "F., 5, woke in the middle of the night crying because she missed her dolly, fearing some big ki-i had got her." "When brother set the dog on my doll, it was so badly torn that I put it in a box and had a funeral. We cried real tears, but at night it pained me so that I went alone and dug her up, kissed, hugged her and told her I was sorry."

"My bisque doll cracked one eye. I pitied it, especially as my eyes were sore, but resisted having a new eye, because it would not be the same doll. I never could think my dolls could be annihilated." "I hope my dolls don't see their Christmas presents beforehand." F., 12, cut off her Japanese doll's hair, so she could never go back to Japan. F. 6., cut her doll's hair, thinking it would grow again." "F., 12, said to her dolly: "There, I have fixed my baby's hair and she didn't cry, can't you be as good?" "One of my dolls, Belle, had a splendid wardrobe. I thought all my other dolls jealous, so I was especially kind to them in her presence, so she should know, despite her fine clothes, I loved them all alike. I sometimes saw her sneer." "A boy, 7, screamed, saying: 'Mother, mend the doll's leg,' thinking such surgery painful." F., 13, 'would put molasses on doll's mouth and

then punish her for stealing it. "F., 13, knocked Chinese doll against a window for crying and broke it. "F., 9, sings dolly to sleep with her favorite songs." "F., 4's, dolls are good or bad as she is. If corrected for bad language, her dolls use it." "F., 11, said: dolly was never on the cars to enjoy it before, but always went in the trunk." "F., 3's dolly often wants to go to the water closet, and is tenderly put on the stool by her little mother." "When my doll's foot was broken off, I thought it hurt, but would grow." "F., 6, has great fears her dolls will feel lonesome." "F., 4, said: Now dolly, I would like to give you a bath, but I must go up and see that other baby bathed, the real one, you know." "F., 4. Will my dolly ever grow up to be a lady doll?"

III. DOLL'S FOOD AND FEEDING.

In our returns 90 children fed their dolls with both liquid and solid food, 75 sat at the doll's table, 68 touched food to the doll's lips and then ate it themselves (some speak of chewing it for the doll or put in doll's hand to make believe she eats it), 45 gave it milk (16 of whom imagined water to be milk, and then played nurse the doll in natural way), 36 distinctly imagined the food, 33 set the dolls at table with themselves, 31 imagined or pretended growth, 8 of whom were positive the doll grew, thinking dresses grew short, or pulled doll's legs and found her to measure more, 29 say they never fed dolls or that they can't eat, 23 touched food to doll's lips, then threw it away or put it in doll's mouth and took it out again, 19 distinctly imagined hunger, 19 declared that dolls preferred certain kinds of food to others, 15 were strenuous in urging real hunger, 2 said the dolls looked hungry, 9 thought them hungry when they were so themselves, 13 poked food inside the dolls' heads, where sometimes it accumulated and spoiled, 1 broke doll's tooth trying to get it in, 1 broke a hole to do so, 12 really put liquid into the doll, 1 had a rubber ball in the back of the doll's head to squirt it out, 13 reported spells of great regularity in feeding, 11

constant regularity, 9 used only liquid food, 7 only solid, 6 imagined they ate without any agency of the child, 7 used empty plates and imagined the food, 6 thought some foods especially disagreed with dolls, 11 seemed to think dolls really starved if not fed, 6 gave foods according to the age, 3 put the food down the neck of the doll's dress, 4 poured liquid food on the front of the dress, 8 always gave the dolls the same food as they had, 1 saw a healthy look in her doll from having slept and eaten well.

The following foods are mentioned also mostly by children between the ages of 5 and 11: milk 88 times, bread 75 times, cake 62 times, water 45, candy 33, crackers 27, potatoes 19, tea 18, meat 15, sugar 13, pie 13, fruit 13, apples 12, butter 9, ice cream 8, cookies 7, all kinds of food 7, mud pies 6, coffee 5, sweetened water 5, dirt 3, ginger bread 3, grapes 3, nuts 3, strawberries 3, biscuit 3, apple juice 2, puddings 4, oranges 4, salt 4. The following were mentioned by 2 children: apple sauce, chicken, chalk and water, flour and water, gravy, cheese, chocolate, eggs, flowers, fish, mustard, lemonade, leaves, jelly, sand (for food, for flour, for sugar), soup, sweets. The following were mentioned once each: canned corn, blacking, beefsteak, buttons, brown paper, brick dust and water, boards in thin slices, beans, acorns, cocoa-nut, custard, cocoa, cinnamon water, crumbs, cream, flour, grass, green fruit, grasshopper (used as roast turkey), jumbles, lime, mush, mucilage and water, orange juice for soup, pears, pickles, pancakes, peaches, pictures of food (for paper dolls), rice, roast beef, starch and water for milk, also sticks, stones, sawdust, seed (in bottles for canned corn), soft food, soap suds, vegetables.

Some children put food on the floor near the doll, others think it tries to eat or move the hand toward the food, forgets to eat, prefers cup, bottle, spoon, plate, glass, or to eat with fingers. Some are fed only

when children play house, or Sunday mornings, or on coming home from school, or Saturdays, or going to bed, or between meals, or once a day. Out of 49, 19 say positively that dolls are never hungry, 14 are positive they are, 16 are in doubt, some think they are hungry all the time, others not often, or sometimes, or may be, or guess so. Out of the other 49, 18 think dolls will not starve if not fed, 17 think they will starve if not fed, and others are divided.

F., 30, never allowed dolls to drink coffee, for it made their skin dark, she fed imaginary milk (water) in a real bottle. F., 20. My paper dolls were always fed by picture food. F., 17. I have spent hours trying to feed my dolls. F., 50. My dolls always went with me to the country, because they could not get out of the doll house to buy food. F., 26. I fed one doll regularly until I found she would not grow, after that only when I happened to think. Another preferred to feed liquid food because she liked to use a spoon. F., 6, gives dolls flowers to smell for dessert. F., 10, says, once dolly got hungry and asked me for food. I fed liquids on a bib, thinking babies soaked it up that way. F., 10. I feed dolly at table when no one is looking. F., 49. I put food on doll's mouth till it was dry, and thought the doll sucked out the juice. F., 6, uses doll biscuits, offering them first to the doll, then eating them herself. F., 4. When her doll's head was knocked off, cried till uncle said he would fill it with meal before fastening it on, then thought she would get enough to eat and be well. F., 14, squeezed everything she could into a small mouth opening, fixed so it came out at the back. F., 21. I used to worry lest I should not feed my doll and it would starve. F., 4, punished her doll by making it eat dirt, stones, coal, etc. F., 14. I used to beg candy for my doll, hold it to her mouth, and when no one was looking, slip it in my own. F., 15. I fed dolly a great deal, because it was fun to wash her bib. F., 10. If I forgot, I fed them double quantity next day. F., 4, wants to feed everything that tastes good to her black rag doll. F., 10, used to imagine both dishes and food; but later thought dolls took care of themselves. Another writes: "I held food long to doll's mouth so she would have time to chew it fine, then put it on another plate and repeated this with piece after piece. F., 10. I broke out some of doll's teeth, pushing in food with pin, and she was very sick. F., 6, does not like dolls that talk, because the fixings in the stomach are not good for digestion. F., 12. When quite young I knew doll could not open its mouth, so I would hold

it there awhile and then gradually slip it down the neck. F., 15, imagined her doll to cry with pain when the tea was too hot. An English principal writes: I know a boy of 5 who half starved himself to feed an old nut cracker in the usual form of Punch, with a big nose, and a mouth worked by a handle in the back; this lasted weeks, but was concealed. He since said he felt this figure a member of the family, and vaguely thought his life was sustained by feeding Punch. F., 38. I always thought each doll did not grow, but expected the next to be bigger because older. My doll grew to 5½ inches, then stopped; this worried me, so I sent her up garret to stay till taller. F., 38. I was so sure my doll grew that I had large hems put in her dresses. F., 4, thinks doll's dress tight after feeding.

Dolls are weighed, and a few days later shot and stones sewed in their clothes so they will weigh more. Children say of foods they especially like or dislike, that it is good or bad for their dolls. They often have recipes, as: "flower, salt, sugar, milk, baked till brown." Sometimes the table ceremonies are elaborate, including grace, comments on food, courses, etc. At Thanksgiving dinners blocks are (play) boiled for turkey, round things for pies and cakes, and the rest pictures. When the food is not wholly imaginary, crackers may serve for every solid, and water for all drinks. Toy cook stoves are a great boon to children during the brewing and cooking age. If children eat too much or prefer the wrong kinds of food, dolls are accused of doing the same thing. They are counselled not to eat too fast, nor to be greedy nor slobber. If dolls are sick they must be fed accordingly. With some children the fire, stove, wood, dishes, and food, are entirely imaginary; but more commonly something is imagined to be something else which it more or less resembles. Leaves and chips are plates, sticks are for spoons, bits of broken crockery are whole dishes, pieces of paper, petals of flowers, even figures on the carpet are dishes, so are shells, flat stones, acorns are cups and saucers, clothes pins are sugar tongs, and napkins and every kind of table furniture is parodied.

Soap suds is ice-cream, mud is chocolate cake, brick dust and water is tea, salt is imagined to be sugar, and sugar salt. Many kinds of seeds, buds, etc., are used. A barn-yard weed has a tiny pod called cheese. Flag-root and pods, birch-bark, nuts, the honeyed ends of clover, honeysuckle, and other blossoms, green fruit, pepper-grass, and many other things, are used as dolls' food, and sometimes children are injured by eating what only their imagination makes wholesome.

IV. SLEEP.

329 papers speak of dolls' sleep. Most of these children are between 6 and 11; 90 mentioned keeping others quiet while the dolls slept, 76 rocked it in arms and sang to put it to sleep, and 76 put it in bed and did so, 55 rocked it to sleep without song, 37 used cradle and song, 33 took doll to bed with them, 12 expressly insist that the doll really slept, 7 never put dolls to sleep, 3 shut the eyes of mechanical dolls only and called that sleep, 5 said made no difference to dolls whether there was quiet or not, 10 had dolls say prayers, 2 said only dolls which closed eyes could go to sleep, 1 covered the eyes with paper, 4 rolled it in baby wagon, 7 jumped or trotted it, several told a story, others rock it in a hammock, have it in the dark, shut it in a trunk, or think it sleeps mostly when they are not present; 52 lullabys are named, Rock-a-by baby leading all the rest, being mentioned 29 times. Others more often mentioned are the following: Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber; Bye baby Bunting; quite original lullabys; La, la, la; By-lo; Mother Goose rhymes; Sweet and low; while others mention The Bowery; sacred songs; kindergarten songs; Hush-a-by Baby; Wee Willie Winkle; Shut your eye, do not cry; Moody and Sankey songs, with exceptional things, like Rocked in the cradle of the

deep ; German songs ; Slumber song ; selections from Pinafore and other popular operas ; Comrades, and many others.

F., 10. I rock dolly and sing, and if this does not succeed, I walk the floor with her. F., 10. Undressing and putting dolly to bed was the best play of all. Another says : I took my doll to bed with me nights, and put myself to sleep, trying to keep quiet, so as not to disturb her. Another says : I was always quiet, walked on tiptoe, and talked in a whisper when dolly slept. F., 15. Nights I undressed my dolls, put on their night clothes, had them say their prayers, and when all were in bed, would sing to them. M., 8, hangs his doll on a chair pappoose-wise to sleep nights. One folds a shawl, places a pillow on the floor or puts two chairs together for a bed. One writes : Only my large doll Marguerite would go to sleep. I would sing and rock her till my arms ached ; one was greatly afraid dolls would get their heads covered in bed and smother ; one puts little doll in big doll's arms, and pretends the mother doll sings it to sleep, when it is put in a cradle. F., 7. My dolls sometimes kick the cover off. I spank them and they keep it on. One says : Some dolls go to sleep as soon as their head touches the pillow, and others are the worst kind of sleepers. F., 12. My doll often wakes in the middle of the night and cries for water, when the girl's father must get up and go to the kitchen for it. F., 14, puts candy to doll's mouth, so it will sleep quicker. F., 7, says : When dolly is just awake, she is often in a very bad humor. F., 14. I sang my doll to sleep with every song I knew. F., 12. When dolls get older, you can put them to bed awake ; if I woke up and could not find my doll, would cry as if my heart would break. One writes : I could never keep as quiet for a baby sleeping as I could for my doll ; one considered dolls young ladies and never sang to them ; one used to go to sleep herself, putting dolls to sleep ; when I sang the line—"down comes baby, cradle and all," I let my doll drop, so as to soothe her imaginary cries ; one was vexed if anyone came into the room ; if doll was good I put her to bed, if not, the nurse ; when mamma was busy, or I was noisy, I was always ready to be quiet getting dolly to sleep.

V. SICKNESS.

Dolls have many diseases. In our returns there were 63 cases of measles, 47 of scarlet fever, 34 colds,

33 of whooping cough, 31 diphtheria, 27 of members injured, 26 headache, 23 mumps, 22 fever, 18 chicken pox, 17 small pox, 16 sore throat, 15 colic, 11 croup, 11 surgical operations, 9 stomach ache, 9 toothache, 9 leg broken, 8 grip, 7 consumption, 5 beheaded, 4 typhoid fever, 4 leprosy. The following occurred from one to three times: bronchitis, biliousness, cramp, catarrh, chills, teething, sore eyes, earache, dysentery, jaundice, heart-trouble, chafed limbs, pneumonia, rheumatism, dyspepsia, brain fever, spells of vomiting.

The most common remedies are tapioca pills, water, sugar, pills, poultices, plasters, quinine, paper pills, colored water, vinegar, menthol pencils, water and dirt, tea syrup, seltzer aperient, sweet oil, salt and water, sugar for powders, soap, peppermint, paregoric, potato and salt, castor oil, vaseline, cement, currant juice and water, camphor, candy, ice cream, bread pills, dirt powders, chalk and water, dissolved candy, hot bottles, mustard plaster, squills, laudanum, Hive syrup, castoria, drops, etc.

To treat these diseases the doctor in 48 cases is a boy, in 30 a playmate, sex not mentioned. In 25 cases the owner of the doll is the doctor; in 24 cases the doctor is imaginary, in 20 cases he is another doll. Sometimes father, mother, or even the real doctor, if he happens to be present, is consulted.

The remedy often aims to fit the disease. Fever may be put on with red paint, treated with Seidlitz powder or a drop of bismuth every half hour. A doll who lost her wig and had brain fever was bandaged and put to bed. Repairs are surgical operations and the repair shop is a hospital. In one case of toothache the face was broken in trying to pull it. For dyspepsia burned rice was ground in a mortar. For sore eyes a veil was used, for sore throat flannel and salt gargle, pork rinds, red pepper and ten minutes in bed. For stomach ache, after careful

examination of the pulse,—flannel, salt and water, tapioca pills and darkness was the treatment. In small pox, caused by spotting the waxed face of a doll, sugar and water cured. For measles, the head was bathed and tied up with imaginary brandy, bread pills, a sweat and hot water, which latter brought out the eruptions until the wax face was disfigured. For mumps, the face is grotesquely muffled and tied up. Leprosy was suggested in the Sunday School and by the paint flecking off. In the case of a broken leg an ambulance, ether, etc., were extemporized. Eye water is squeezed into the socket of a knocked-out eye. Ink and catnip tea are good for sleeplessness. Orange marmalade, licorice, etc., are for teething. For colic, dolls must be laid on their stomachs and given warm drinks and tucked up with extra wraps. The best thing, says a boy of 13, is a good dose of bad medicine.

"My doll Liz," says F., 10, "had a headache, so I put on her micado and read her some of Longfellow's Hiawatha, as she wanted me to." F., 10. "My baby doll is always sick, and I have Dr. Sam, a very old doll, come and treat her." F., 8, vaccinated all her dolls, putting in soap. F., 12. "My baby doll has colic every night, croup, pain, and all sorts of diseases, but the large dolls are very healthy." F., 12. "The paint came off my doll's face and she grew pale and sick." Two boys had dolls wounded in the army; 17, doctors were purely imaginary personages. Some girls about 12 had a hospital house, in which at one time there were forty-two patients. M., 7, takes his doll to the seaside for her health. F., 12, had 92 dolls, many were often sick; disease not always designated. F., 10, Puts her colicky dolls across her knee and they soon recover. F., 13, rubbed red chalk on her doll's face to make a high fever seem more real. M., 6, has dolls that sometimes have three or four diseases at once; they must be rubbed, dosed, the room kept dark and quiet. "When I was sick, my doll was sick, too; she went through whooping cough, measles, and scarlet fever with me. If either of us got sick the other did." "Mamma was always the surgeon, mending broken limbs; we always pitied dolls and thought they suffered greatly." F., 12, used to give tooth powder for medicine, but stopped when told it would not digest. F., 13. "I was once ex-

treinely anxious lest my doll baby should die, it was so sick." "My doll followed every stage of the disease of a neighbor, had the same treatment and got well when she did. I made an artificial scab on her face." F., 3, if she bumps her doll, always runs for mamma to put vaseline on it. F., 8, had as her chief wish for a long time a bed, so her dolly could be sick. F., 11, "feeding dolls and imagining them sick, always seemed foolish to me." M., 8, was a doll dentist, with tooth-picks for instruments. A doll, shaky about back and legs, six weeks, which was literally followed. Another doll became permanently blind after scarlet fever. For another a red lead pencil was desired to make blotches, so the doll could have the measles. F., 9, fell from window, and broke her arm; when well, she threw her doll out of the window, but as its arm was not broken, did it purposely and had it splintered. F., 8, telephoned through the door knob for the Dr., as baby was awful sick. One doll was dressed and trained as a nurse. Paper dolls were sick when torn. The doll doctors visited and looked at them earnestly but did not say much. All the dolls of an invalid child were invalids. Laura Bridgeman bound her doll's eyes as were her own. If bran comes out the doll is feeble. "Reading of Indians, my brother and I scalped my doll's head and it was beyond remedy." "After fever my doll's hair came out; I pulled out a few every day." M., 9, shot holes in dolls with bow and arrow to dress the wounds. "When my dolls got well they would first sit up for a few minutes, then all day, then play." "Put paper dolls torn, sick, in a book or bed." One could never give medicine to dolls she hated it so herself. F., 8, was most affectionate with sick dolls. "My dolls sometimes got sick as a punishment for being bad." M., 6, with friends, treated doll for drowning. For many children dolls have no diseases, for others they are simply sick, with no disease specified and get well with no drugs or doctor. For others medicine is given, no kind prescribed; they are simply put to bed or laid down. It must be children of a very different type of mind, as well as better acquainted with sickness, whose dolls have every symptom of specific diseases with doctors called, particular medicines prepared and given with glass cup, spoon or fingers, and with localized pains and aches.

VI. DEATH, FUNERAL AND BURIAL OF DOLLS.

Sometimes these are quite isolated from each other and from sickness, and sometimes all follow in due course. Of all the returns available under this rubric

90 children mentioned burial, their average age being nine; 80 mentioned funerals, 73 imagined their dolls dead, 30 dug up dolls after burial to see if they had gone to Heaven, or simply to get them back. Of these 11 dug them up the same day. Only 9 speak of them as dying naturally of definite diseases. 15 put them under sofa, in drawers, attics or gave them away, calling this death; 30 express positive belief in future life of dolls, 8 mentioned future life for them without revealing their own convictions, 3 buried dolls with pets and left them, 3 bad or dirty dolls went to the bad place, 14 to Heaven; 17 children were especially fond of funerals. 12 dolls came to accidental death by bumps or fractures, 1 burst, 1 died of melted face, 2 were drowned (1 a paper doll), 1 died because her crying apparatus was broken, 1 doll murdered another, was tried and hung. Dolls of which children tire often die. 30 children never imagined dolls dead. Parents often forbid this. 1 boy killed his sister's doll with a toy cannon, 3 resurrected dolls got new names, 5 out of 7 preachers at dolls' funerals were boys, 1 was the doctor; 3 doll undertakers are described. 22 cases report grief that seems to be very real and deep; in 23 cases this seemed feigned. The mourning is sometimes real black and sometimes pretended. 19 put flowers on dolls' graves, one "all that week;" 28 expressly say that dolls have no souls, are not alive, and have no future life. In 21 cases there was death but no burial; in 10, funerals but no burials; in 8, funerals but no deaths.

F., 14. "My dolls never die nor marry, they are babies."
F., 14. "My dolls never die unless they get broken. I never allow them to, it is too painful." F., 23. "I never thought dolls dead till arms, legs, head were gone, and often not then." F., 13. "Doll smashed, not dead, just thrown away."
F., 9. "Doll broken, funeral just for fun." F., 8. "One particular doll for funeral purposes." One remembers doll's head crushed, kissing fragments and crying, "O! dear Fred-

die's gone to Heaven." One got doll too warm and when wax ran down its face cried, "O, mamma! dolly is bleeding to death." "My dolls never die, but I do so hate to have them sick." M., 10, buries dolls' limbs, heads, etc., apart if they come loose. F., 9. "Very rarely had my children die, but had them come to life right away as a different person." F., 6, was given a doll so lifelike that she feared it, believing it a dead baby. A teacher writes: "That true value of a good doll in moulding a girl's character has not begun to be appreciated. I disapprove doll balls, theaters, marriages, and especially deaths and funerals." F., 9, whittled dolls rudely from sticks, buried them, covered the grave with flowers and in a few days dug them up as mummies. One thinks an imperfect doll better off dead; one never buries but simply loses interest in it or throws it in a corner. For one the thought of death was too terrible to play with. When a dog tore a beautiful doll to shreds its owner was simply heart broken. For one, burying was throwing away, hiding, or otherwise getting rid of the doll least cared for. F., 16. "It broke my heart when my doll broke her head, but I never thought of a funeral or future life." M., 6, hates dolls, "for they are all girls, they just keep their mouth shut and make believe children, they never die because they don't keep their eyes always closed forever." F., 11, never played dolls died lest she should die herself. F., 10. "We draped ourselves and the doll's coffin with crape, it was a melancholy procession, and after a touching eulogy by my cousin, she was laid to rest beside the late rooster." Two girls of 4 played all their dollies were dead; one was dressed as a "God doll" and hung up high; as the others died they were each tossed up to the God doll and if it touched him or he swung a little, they said the angels would come for the dead doll. "We read a chapter in the Bible, said a prayer and buried the doll in a box. I went into the house crying, and could not be comforted, but dug her up in an hour or two." F., 10, dreamed she saw her broken doll in heaven. Another is comforted because she can take the dead doll to the table with her in heaven. Two girls of three broke off their doll's heads, but they were "just as alive" and treated the same. "I used to come and sit by her grave and pity her, and think what it must seem to be down there in the grave." Colored F., 12, said dolls did not go to heaven, for it was bright; they were put in the dark earth, hence went to hell. "Soon after my doll died I went to a funeral and was consoled to know I should meet her again." F., 7. "We had a regular grave yard at the end of the garden where we buried pets and dolls. When dolly had lain there a few days, we dug her up and played she was a new baby and dressed her in long clothes."

F., 10, thought doll could not go to heaven unless buried in a regular cemetery. F., 6, lost her doll, and pictured it as a doll angel so vividly that when it was found she was disgusted to find that it was still on earth. F., 13, when she found her doll's head hollow thought it had always been dead. A girl feared a black doll and burnt it in the fire, and for a long time could not look at the fireplace without fearing its ghost would appear in the smoke. F., 7, found a rag doll had no heart and so put in a small ball so it could live and love us. At one doll's funeral after chanting the Lord's Prayer they recited "earth to earth, dust to dust, if the Lord don't take you the devil must." "When dolly died from eating too much of a pudding I was forbidden, I watched her grave for fear angels would take her." "When my brother proved my doll had no brains by slicing off her head, I felt I had been deluded; I watched him with stoicism and took no more interest in dolls." F., 11, cremates dead paper dolls.

VII. DOLLS' NAMES.

Of dolls' names, 199 were given for a friend; 87 because they were pretty, favorite or fancy names; 54 because of real or fancied likenesses; 35 for a name in a story or some one heard of; 33 were named from the giver; 34 had no name save Dolly; 21 gave new names often; 20 were named from some peculiar look in quality or person; 9 took the owner's name; 6 were named from the time or place of receiving the doll; 5 from a feigned likeness; 4 had purely imaginary names; 2 had very unusual names; in some cases ugly names are given to dolls disliked. In two cases the material of which the doll is made is the name. 10 very formal christenings are spoken of. Sometimes every doll in a family receives the same name. Dolls with names frequently changed rarely develop distinct personalities.

Some cases are the following: named Rose because of rosy cheeks. Some children cannot remember the names of their dolls, they have so many. A very short name sometimes goes with a very small doll. M., 3, named his doll "Fa ily." The earliest dolls are rarely named. Sometimes qualifying terms

are used, like "birthday Mary," "Chicago Jane." A dent on the cheek suggested Dotty Dimple. A Christmas doll was named Merry Christmas. For F., 6, all dolls' names must end in ie. "Whenever I heard a new, pretty name I gave it to my best doll." M., 11 (Bohemian), named his doll My Friend. "Named Lucille because French." "Named Carol because given on Christmas." F., 12, now thinks it silly to name dolls, although she still plays with them. "Most children over six give dolls their own surname." "My doll is named from a ship." With F., 4, a new name goes with every new dress. One doll named Gingerbread, from color of its stuffed-out head. "Named 'Silkie' because always dressed in silk." "Named Jap because dressed like a Mikado." "An invented name is Skidel, another Calambo." Some children hunt catalogues for new names. Some are named Lord, Lady, from vocations; some from pet animals. One girl studied the meaning of names to make them fit; one was called Prince Albert, although a girl, because he was a good man. "If angry with friends for whom my dolls are named I change the name." "A doll I hated was named for a defeated candidate." Some names chosen for prettiness are Hazel, Daisy, Blanche, Maud, Dorothy, Pearl, Gladys, Flossy, Violet, Rosalie, Elsa. F. called first doll "Daisy," the second "more daisy," and so on.

VIII. DISCIPLINE.

In our returns are 41 distinct cases of punishment by being sent to bed, 34 spanked, 32 whippings, 25 scoldings, 20 put in closet, 13 kept in, 12 shut up, 17 made to sit down, 11 shaken, 7 slapped, 7 severely talked to, 5 deprived of food, 2 tied to a post, 1 made to stand up and sing, 1 sent home from school, 1 had cayenne pepper put on its tongue, 1 was punched, 1 had its legs pulled, 1 had its face covered, 1 was fed on bread and water, 1 was thrown down stairs, 1 made to sit on the door knob, 1 had to go to bed in the dark, 1 was hung, with due ceremony. Rewards are in the following order of frequency: take out walking, visiting, sit up late, go riding, be kissed, go without nap, go shopping, told a story, taken to party, given candy, cake, clothes, ribbons. Rewards are often promised or punishments are often threatened, but

not given. There seems little disposition to make the punishment fit the crime. The qualities rewarded are the following in order of frequency: goodness, truthfulness, obedience, neatness, kindness, good nature, quiet, sweet temper, patience. Traits or acts punished are: being naughty, not sitting still, quarreling, talking, answering back, not learning lessons, falling from chair, being "sassy," running away from baby doll, slapping baby doll, crying, being jealous, "won't stand," "won't sit proper," lying, being vain, angry, for hitting or falling on small doll, being cross, upsetting things, stealing, flirting, "saying I won't," etc. 15 say that they never discipline dolls, either because they are good, or too little, or never thought of it.

In the supplementary answers 108 children whip, 108 never punish, 80 put to bed, 75 spank, 39 slap, 35 stand in the corner, 34 scold, 21 shake, 20 put in dark closet, 5 throw on floor. 4 broke them, and from 3 to 1 each hung them, pulled their ears and hair, stood them on their heads, shut them in a box, threw them up, and let them drop, left them out in the cold. The age when punishments are most frequent and severest is below 8, thence onward it gradually declines.

F., 10, punishes paper dolls by tearing their legs off. F., 14., by keeping from theater and rewarded by letting dolls buy what they would. F., 6, Beats and almost breaks her doll because she "wets herself most every day." F., 11, thought vanity and anger the worst faults. F., 7, whipped dolls for no reason but the pleasure of it. F., 8, flogs severely for the slightest error. "When she sasses me and tells me to shut up I spank her and she goes to sleep." F., 5. "When four she whipped dolls but at eight loved them too much and reasoned with them when they were bad." F., 8, always scolds before whipping. F., 6, whips doll if not found where she thinks it was left. F., 8, gave prizes for neatness, her favorite doll getting all. She adds: "I did not realize that it was my fault if they were untidy." F., 12. "I told dolly never to get on the floor and whipped her for it, but made her no better." M., 10. "My doll used to get angry and I would grab her by the hair and throw her down stairs

but afterward give her a nice piece of mud cake with raspberries on it." "When dolly is bad I leave her alone to repent her folly." "I think dollies too little to hardly know what is right." "Punishment doesn't seem to make dolls any better." "Sometimes I spank dolls for things they didn't do, it is such fun." F., 10. "When my dolls are real good all day, I let them wear a string of beads or go to ride." F., 11, never thought of dolls as good or bad. "They must grow up truthful men and women." "I corrected dolls for the same faults as my own." "It is better to rule by love." My dolls fight far less than they used to." "I often give my dolls a good moral talk which helps them."

IX. HYGIENE AND TOILET.

Hygiene and toilet treatment is mentioned as follows: dressing, 18 times; washing face, 12; taking out doors to get the air, 11; general bath, 10; dressed regularly, 7 times; hands washed, 7 times; bathed every morning, 5 times; hair combed, 6 times; braided twice, brushed twice, went in bathing twice, teeth brushed twice, nails manicured twice. Occasional mention is made of gargling throat, cutting hair, pure air in sleeping, water closet, massage, keeping home from parties to avoid late hours, not letting them go with boys, heavy clothing in cold, and light in warm weather, putting salve in dolls' ears as wax to be cleaned out, and dirty nails to clean out, wearing wrappers in the morning, plain dressss in the afternoon and silk in the evening. M., 11, I could not get my doll clean because he was black.

X. DOLLS' FAMILIES, SCHOOLS, PARTIES, WEDDINGS, ETC.

153 returns mention families, 44 describe parties, teas, receptions, etc.; 33 schools of various kinds, 26 weddings are described, 25 excursions or rides, in 21 cases the child is the mother of her dolls, 18 theatres,

concerts, tableaux, in 14 cases other dolls are the mothers, 14 played shopping, 14 visits, 12 war, 10 balls or dances are described, 10 played families only with paper dolls, 10 hanging or execution, 7 times churches are described, 6 times Sunday Schools, 5 ceremonial baptisms. There were 4 dolls' swimming parties, in 4 cases all the dolls were cousins, in 2 cases the child was the grandmother and in 2 aunt of the dolls, 2 clubs, 2 plays of park with grand stand, other social plays described fully once and often hinted at more times are fire company, slave-selling, post-office, country fair, sailing, prayer meeting, stepmother, imaginary mother. Till 4 one boy was mother of his dolls and then father.

F., 10, called a big doll her child, a small doll her grandchild. One boy was mother and the father was at sea. M., 7. "I am the papa and the stuffed cat the mamma." F., 5, crucified boy doll with tacks on a cigar box. One child made dolls act Queen Bess, Scott's novels, etc. F., 8, kept doll boarding school. M., 7, executed criminal doll with pop-gun. "At schools dolls must raise their hands." F., 11, has wedding with doll bridesmaids, ushers, father, mother, invitations, and many dolls to look on, and rice. Boys performed allegory of the Rebellion with dolls. Dolls of two girls are cousins and many are friends of the girls. One had a large family with three generations, all relations of their owner. In one place, divorce is a favorite doll play. "The dolls I cared least for were often called my nieces." "I loved to have one doll family in the depths of poverty and another richer to help them." "For F., 14, giving presents between dolls was a great game." "We played Humpty-dumpty, Fantasma and Cinderella with dolls." "All my dolls were sisters except one I didn't like, which was a servant." "Paper dolls were a complete family, but no relation to others." "In my doll weddings, something nice to eat was the chief thing." "For F., 12, married dolls had children, she tucked them up under the clothes and pretended they were born the regular way, when they grew up one was Longfellow and the other Louise Alcott." "At doll parties I play the piano and dolls dance." "At doll weddings the last was singing: 'Now you are married you must obey, you must be true to all you say, etc.'" M., 2, heard of crucifixion and tried to nail dolly to a board." F., 8, used to sit her dolls in the

parlor and play exquisite music ; they applauded loudly and she bowed, although she did not know one note from another. F., 4, plays school, with dolls in a row and standing over them with stick saying 'be good.' F. 9, got up an elaborate baptismal ceremonial. F., 4, made believe the room was a church, put a little string for a ring on dolly's finger, the brother as priest asked what name she would have the child, said Ruthie, he then threw water in her face, repeated the name and went home. We played swimming, throwing dolls in the water and dragging them by a string. F., 7, dresses up and plays travel, with dress, bag, and buttons for money. She gets ticket, has the lounge for cars, and gives ticket to chair, which is the conductor. One girl writes poetry to her doll : "Well my dollie and where have you been, comb your hair and wash your skin." F., 8, ties dolls to kite en route for Heaven. "We play doll bath, the ocean being a rug; in winter we play school of all nations, when we go out they run away and we have great times finding them." "I arranged all my dolls on the stairs, sitting quietly with them listening to an imagined sermon. I taught my own S. S. lessons to the children (dolls) : I selected poems for them to learn or read and hymns to sing, though it was I who did the singing." The Episcopal form is more common than the Presbyterian in our returns. "It was fun having some of my dolls lost on their picnics." "Dolls are related according as they look alike." "We acted the story of Elsie Dinsmore with dolls." "All entertainments I saw we produced for dolls next day." "I put dolls on the treadle of the sewing machine to pretend they sewed." "We often had to take our dolls out of church, they would not be quiet." "My darky doll could dance a jig and sing Uncle Ned." "Bridget and Pat were no relation to my other dolls." "We often played marriages, but as we grew older preferred to take the character ourselves." "Our dolls were sometimes married secretly and sometimes eloped." "My dolls were never allowed to go to parties alone, these were generally for birthdays." "When my doll came from school I helped her with her lessons." "My wax dolls were one family, China another." "My boy doll once fell in love with a girl doll." "I feared my dolls would catch diseases at school, so gave them a governess." "My favorite doll was the bride and the tongs were dressed as the groom." "For a time all my dolls were widows." "My dolls were very jealous of each other's dress." "I used to have doll baby shows." One thinks paper dolls are not "real dolls."

XI. ACCESSORIES.

Counting the doll accessories, we find 179 mention clothes in general, 85 mention beds, 66 sets of dishes, 59 tables, 58 chairs, 57 trunks, 40 cradles, 32 houses, 30 bureaus, 23 toys, 23 furniture, 23 carriages, 22 brushes, 22 combs, 21 folding beds, 20 hats, 12 stoves, 10 shoes, 10 stockings, 10 bonnets, 9 quilts, 9 dolls' dolls, 9 underclothes, 9 toilet sets, 8 pianos, 7 wash-stands, 7 handkerchiefs, 6 cloaks, 6 chamber sets, 6 cupboards, 6 forks, 6 jewelry, 6 knives, 6 lounges, 6 mirrors, 6 mittens, 6 nightgowns, 6 picture books, 6 rattles, 6 sofas, 6 waterproofs, 5 capes, 5 aprons, 5 handkerchiefs, 5 swings, 5 spoons, 5 towels, 5 veils, 5 wash-stands, 4 caps, 4 hairpins, 4 newspapers, 4 pictures, 4 soaps, 4 wash-rags, 4 books, 4 carpets. The following are mentioned three times: bags, balls, bookcases, blankets, earrings, fans, flat-irons, jackets, kitchen sets, muffs, mats, overshoes, parasols, parlor sets, pencils, pewter dishes, money purses, rings, shawls, slippers, sheets. The following are mentioned twice each: bathtubs, blocks, bracelets, coats for boys, cribs, chests of drawers, candlesticks, comforters, Christmas trees, back combs, desks, furs, footstools, hoods, horses, high chairs, jardinières, kettles, nursing-bottles, napkins, puff-boxes, pillows, pincushions, sacks, sponges, sponge-bags, table-cloths, tin kitchens, tooth brushes, toy dogs, toy cats, toy cows.

The following are represented by one each: ankle tie, basin, bath-room, bathing suit, bloomers, bib, bolster, broom, stuffed bird, bench, blackboard, chate-laine bag, clothes-horse, clock, collarette, round comb, clothes-basket, watch-chain, clerical suit, dressing-gown, dog cart, dust-pan, dining set, flowers, hand-mirror, hanging lamp, ironing-board, invalid slippers, kitten, kid gloves, manicure set, necklace, piano-lamp, pony, pins, pans, rubber boots, ruler, rubber ring,

TABLE I.

	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	16	17	22	23	24	25	26	28	29
12 Boys below 6, K. G. Practice School, Boston.	11 1	9 3	4. 5.	9 3	4.	3 5	.. 7	2 1	4 5	.. 3	1 5	6 2	.. .. ..	.. .. ..	3-	4 6	4 6	2 10	.. 6	....	....
12 Girls below 6, Boston Practice School.	11 1	11 1	.... ....	11 1	..... .....	3 7	.. 5	3 3	4 3	1 7	.. 7	7 2	.. .. ..	.. .. ..	3-	8 3	9 2	5 6	1 2	....	....
44 Boys below 6, Worcester.	35 9	28 8	2.8 4.5	22 14	3.3 4.3	7 14	5 21	4 6	29 6	13 18	5 24	21 8	6 5	1 1	8- 4.1	18 10	17 13	15 14	1 4	....	....
48 Girls below 6, Worcester.	48 ..	46 2	2.6	37 11	3.11	8 24	12 8	12 18	38 5	9 35	3 39	29 11	2 8	.. .. ..	4.8	34 8	30 12	23 18	5 3	....	....
50 Girls, age 6-12, Worcester.	50 ..	50 .	... ....	45 2	..... .....	7 38	26 13	25 13	47 3	10 40	12 18	42 7	25 21	3 4	.... ....	47 3	38 12	40 10	....	....	....
50 Boys, 6-12, Worcester.	42 8	27 13	.... ....	30 14	..... .....	12 18	6 12	10 15	36 12	20 22	20 21	28 17	19 22	11 14	.... ....	19 23	18 24	22 20	....	....	....
50 Girls, 6-12, Bos- ton Pr. School.	49 1	46 3	.... ....	43 4	..... .....	7 38	18 8	27 15	40 9	12 36	9 39	29 18	22 17	2 1	.... ....	42 5	31 16	35 12	....	....	....
50 Boys, 6-12, Bos- ton Pr. School.	34 10	32 4	.... ....	22 14	..... .....	5 13	9 16	12 8	26 10	9 23	9 23	18 12	16 13	3 5	.... ....	24 11	21 14	21 14	....	....	....
97 High School Girls, Worcester.	97 ..	80 17	.... ....	89 8	..... .....	31 40	36 26	31 41	82 14	15 78	26 60	62 23	11 81	12 84	.... ....	82 15	60 34	69 23	....	....	....

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	16	17	22	23	24	25	26	28	29
5 Blind Boys, average age, 5.2.	3 2	3 2	.... 10.	1 4	..... .....	.. 4	1 3	3 1	3 2	2 1	.. 2	2 1	.. 2	.. ..	1- 5.	3 ..	3 ..	3 ..	3..	....	..
4 Blind Girls, average age, 6.3.	4 ..	4 ..	1. 14.	3 1	..... .....	.. 3	2 2	2 2	4 ..	3 1	1 3	2 ..	.. 2	.. ..	3- 5.	4 ..	4 ..	4 ..	2 ..	.. 1	..
45 Feeble-Minded Girls.	45 ..	42 3	3.6 3	22 18	..... 11.	3 10	12 7	8 21	10 1	18 26	5 33	1 1	.. 6	.. 4	18+ 15-	24 7	31 10	35 6	28..	....	..
16 Foreign Girls.	16 ..	15 1	2.7 9.5	9 6	5.5 8.2	2 5	10 2	10 4	16 ..	4 12	4 12	13 2	6 9	1 8	42- 5.5	13 5	10 6	11 5	.. ..	.. 4	3 1
10 Foreign Boys.	10 ..	8 2	2.9 6.	6 4	4.6 7.8	.. 5	2 1	3 6	9 1	2 8	3 7	9 ..	8 2	1 2	5- 5.8	8 1	9 1	6 10	.. 1	1 1	.. 2
37 Eighth Grade Grammar, Boys.	27 10	24 9	4.9 7.	29 9	2.11 7.	26 6	1 ..	30 7	32 5	11 25	11 24	18 18	29 6	.. ..	3.5	33 4	31 6	26 10	2 4	....	..
12 Boys, 17-19 av. Horace Mann school for deaf and dumb.	6 5	4 7	3. 5.2	4 2	4.6 7.	1 3	5 1	1 2	3 3	3 3	1 5	3 3	2 ..	.. 1	2- 4.3	4 1	2 4	3 3	5 1	1..	..
38 Girls, av. 13-19, Horace Mann school for deaf and dumb.	38 ..	36 2	3.4 12.	26 11	4.1 12.9	7 19	15 15	7 16	31 5	9 26	7 29	20 14	7 12	3 14	12- 7.	31 6	21 15	26 11	20 10	.. 9	1 9
Averages.	526 47	465 77	3+ 8.1+	408 126	3.9 8.3	122 252	160 147	190 179	414 84	141 364	117 351	310 139	153 206	37 138		398 108	339 175	352 172	67 31	2 15	4 13

shoe horn, satchel, pair of skates, slate, stable, stool, scissors, sideboard, tam o'shanter, tent, toilet water, toilet basket, tins, tureen, trowsers, visiting cards, wraps, tennis racquet, watch, stilts, coalbox, crutch, medals, ledger, night-cap, wigs.

In issuing his supplementary syllabus it was Mr. Ellis's intention to get 100 boys and 100 girls from each grade to answer with a word, each of his 29 questions. This would have given a more definite indication of the extent of doll plays, the doll age, effect of sex, etc. He also sought returns from idiots, blind children, children of foreign birth, etc., for comparative purposes. The returns, however, have been only 579 in all, and many of these fail to answer one or more questions. They have all been counted and most of the results incorporated in the preceding table; and the rest, which could not be presented by this method, are inserted under their respective entries.

In the above table the figures of the upper horizontal line designate the questions as they are numbered in the syllabus. See page 131. Under each special series the upper figure designates the affirmative answers, the lower the negative answers. Thus, of the twelve kindergarten boys below six, eleven had played with dolls and one had not. Under 3 we have averaged the age of beginning and stopping doll play, placing the former over the latter; thus for 44 Worcester boys below six, the average age of beginning doll play was two years and eight months, and the average age of ceasing was four years and five months. The same method is followed in column 5. For question 7 the upper number designates whether children played with anything else as if it were a doll, and we had left it to another table to show what substitutes were most frequent. For question 10, the upper figure designates alone, the lower with others. For question 11, too, the order of words in the syllabus is followed, the upper figure designating old, the lower new, and in question 12 the upper figure designates the preference for large and the lower small dolls. In 22 the minus sign means never played that dolls died, while the other figures designate the average age in years and months when death was played. In question 26 the upper figure designates the number of those who as-

cribed any one or more of the psychic qualities named in the question to doll and the lower number designates the number of those who assigned none,, leaving it to the supplementary table to show the relative frequency of each of the qualities.

From the above table it appears that of average city school children below 6 yrs., 82% of boys and 98% of girls have played dolls; between 6 and 12 yrs., 76% of boys and 99% of girls; of high school girls, 100%.

Those confessing that they ever specially enjoyed doll play are: below 6 yrs., 77% of boys, 95% of girls; between 6 and 12 yrs., 78% of boys, 97% of girls; of high school girls, 82%.

Those ever having used substitutes are: below 6 yrs., 15% of boys, 48% of girls; between 6 and 12 yrs., 35% of boys, 68% of girls; of high school girls, 58%. Thus girls appear to lead the boys in every grade. Nearly fifty per cent. of the girls, and a little less of the boys, answering in all grades, said they loved the substitutes as much as real dolls.

Paper dolls had been used by 73% of those below 6 yrs., by 80% between 6 and 12 yrs., by 92% of high school girls. Interest in other dolls was thought dulled by paper dolls, by 34% of boys and 26% girls below 6, 35% boys and 15% of girls between 6 and 12, 44% of high school girls.

Of all kinds of children,—blind, deaf, foreign, etc., only 17% speak of lack of child companionship, and 72% prefer playing dolls in company; 38% say that love of dolls grew out of love of real baby, and 13% transferred their doll love to babies; 79% had tried to feed dolls; 66% have thought dolls hungry; 68% have ascribed to dolls some of the psychic qualities mentioned; 67% have thought them sick.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Relative frequency of some forms of doll play. In the supplementary reports to question 27, 266 children mention a fondness for dressing dolls; 218 like to wash them; 189 have a love of doll parties; 183 a love of sewing for them; 176 a love of playing school; 169 a love of putting to sleep; 137 a love of weddings; 93 of nursing; 82 mention treating them as companions, telling secrets, etc.; 79 love to feed them; 49 to punish them; 36 to play funerals.

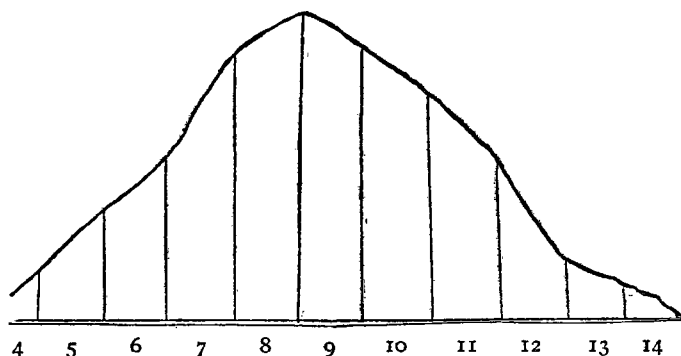
The relations of doll and baby. If the wig comes off dolls they are often treated as babies; sometimes they are made bald-headed to be babies. For some little children dolls with hair have no charm, and as children grow older they dislike baby dolls. Transference of affection from dolls to new baby is often noted. Some are afraid of dolls till acquainted with babies, and then become very fond of them. Some children think babies, like dolls, are filled with sawdust. Some experiment on babies, putting fingers in their eyes, etc., and treat them generally as they have been used to treating dolls.

Paper dolls. Some children never care for paper dolls; some think them best to play or act fairy stories. Of 27 boys aged 7 five played with and preferred paper dolls. Some children prefer them to all others and play with them longer. As children grow older paper dolls have a peculiar fascination. F., 17, ended doll playing by putting her paper dolls in a scrap book as a house. School, collective games and families are more often played with paper dolls.

Rude and maimed dolls. If dolls lose their heads, eyes, or get otherwise deformed, little children are often afraid of them. Some are horrified if the wig comes off; some little children fear everything in human shape, perhaps, till they make the acquaintance of a new baby and then love dolls. Some suddenly conceive life-like wax dolls as real dead persons and have sudden aversions for them. Some like to maim dolls, pulling their limbs, perhaps killing them, in order to have a funeral. Sometimes it is thought rather disgraceful to both doll and owner to have new heads, limbs, etc. Accidents to dolls sometimes cause sensitive children to faint.

Influence of age. Very rare are those who begin doll play in the cradle and keep it up through life. The doll passion seems to be strongest between 7 and 10, and to reach its climax between 8 and 9. The

following curve is based on reminiscences of 98 female pupils in normal schools, the figures on the horizontal line representing the age, and the length of the vertical lines the number of opinions :



In the supplementary papers 55 stopped playing dolls because they liked other things better ; 50 ceased to care for them without being able to give a reason ; 46 stopped because they were too old ; 44 because too large ; 22 because too busy and had no time ; 15 because ashamed ; 11 because loved a real baby. Others gave their dolls away, preferred new play-mates, were made to stop, dolls were worn out, etc.

Persius tells us how the young Roman girl, when ripe for marriage, hung up her childhood's dolls as a votive offering to Venus. "*Veneri donatæ a virgine puppæ.*" *Satires II, 70.*

Froude, in his life of Carlyle, tells how Mrs. Carlyle at the age of nine made an end of doll-play. It had been intimated to her, by one whose wish was law, that a young lady reading Virgil must make an end of doll-play. She decided that dolly should die like Dido, so, with her many sumptuous dresses, her four-post bed, a faggot or two of cedar allumettes, a few sticks of cinnamon, a few cloves, and a nutmeg, her funeral

pyre was built, and "the new Dido having placed herself in the bed, with help, spoke through my lips the last sad words of Dido the first, which I then had all by heart as pat as a, b, c. The doll having thus spoken, kindled the pile and stabbed herself with a penknife by way of a Tyrian sword. Then, however, in the moment of seeing my poor doll blaze up (for being stuffed with bran she took fire and it was all over in no time), in that supreme moment my affection for her blazed up also, and I shrieked and would have saved her and could not, and went on shrieking, and everybody within hearing flew to me and bore me off in a plunge of tears."

Girls often play with dolls regularly until 13 or 14, when, with the dawn of adolescence, the doll passion generally abates. It is then realized more distinctly than before that dolls have absolutely no inner life or feeling. Some girls play with dolls with great pleasure, but secretly, till well on in the teens and often in the twenties, and occasionally married women, generally those without children, or single women, play with dolls all their lives. Several of our returns report infants as interested in dolls very early in life, one fully reported case at 30 days, another at 13 weeks, and several cases before one year old. For the second year of life our reports contain about 20 cases of developed love of dolls. Near the end of the second year one child was observant enough to take the rectal temperature of her doll.

Doctor Fernald reports that every student, male and female, in the institution for the feeble-minded at Waverly is fond of dolls and plays with them in adult life. Children too feeble-minded even to use articulate speech, and who are unable to distinguish one doll from another, still show interest in dolls and love to play with them. In the McLean Asylum, Dr. Coroles reports a few cases of the return of interest in doll play on the part of elderly patients.

Miscellaneous. Some children prefer naked dolls; persist in playing with them in this condition, imagining that thus they can love them more. Some children have special aversions: now to dolls with brown eyes, now to light or dark haired dolls, those with long or short hair, etc.; some children compose stories and even poems for or about their dolls; a six year old boy, e. g., says: "I have a little dolly, she sits in a chair. Her name is Polly, and I comb her hair." "One doll would not stand and I was angry, knocked out its eyes and gave it away." "To tell my dolly she looks ugly makes her good." "I imagined my dolly cruelly treated for what it never did, but loved to tease it and pretended she said bad words." "My dolls all kept individual characteristics, often suggested by the faces." "I could never understand why dolls needed to be whipped, and thought them so good that I was greatly hurt when they were accused of faults." "I thought dolls greatly pleased with new clothes, toys, etc." "Some children are jealous of dolls which have more or better things than they have, while some wish the dolls to dress better than they do themselves." "Dolls with poke bonnets, called 'Salvation Army dolls,' in one case marked the rise of interest in religion." "The smallest doll in the world is no larger than a pin, and the lid of the box where it is a magnifying glass." "I want two dolls, one to hit and knock about, and one for walks to show, perhaps a bride doll." "Of 66 Edinburgh pupils an equal number preferred baby and large dolls." "A three-story doll house, with kitchen, drawing room, 4 bed rooms, 3 beds, 6 chairs, 2 pantries, 5 tables, 2 coal boxes, have helped one child very much." "Two children became more cleanly from bathing their dolls." "One girl had to be stopped from nursing her doll." "Riding on dog and cat were great fun for some."

Influence of Dolls on Children. All opinions received are rudely classified as follows: 44 adults simply report the influence of dolls on children as good, 41 think dolls help parenthood, 39 think rude dolls best to cultivate the imagination, 38 think dolls fit for domestic life, 38 think they develop moral qualities, 35 that they cultivate taste in dress, 35 that they teach to sew, 29 that they teach tidiness, 25 like rude dolls best, 25 that they develop the social nature, 24 that they teach to make clothes, 24 that they teach thoroughness, 24 report that there was no regularity in the care of dolls, 23 thought the religious nature strengthened, 21 neatness, 21 say dolls are better cared for if life-like, 13 better loved when life-like, 12 carefulness, 7 helps in care of children, 6 think the doll passion makes no difference with children, 6 report great regularity in care of dolls, 6 say it develops

love of children, 6 better every way, 5 imitation is stimulated, 4 each specify more clearly, to combine colors,, more obedient, kept quiet, kept out of mischief, kept from bad company, made more tender, more thoughtful of others, expensive dolls are best. Three each specify improvement in dress, knowledge of color, more affectionate, more orderly, more sympathetic, never learn anything from doll play, spells of regularity in caring for dolls, life-like dolls are best. Two each think dolls teach children to appreciate parents' care, make them more cheerful, help power of conversation, help design, teach knitting, to make patterns, more observing, more persevering, more stylish, more gentle, more refined, softening influence, dolls should be in kindergarten. One each think dolls help to care for baby, housekeeping, industry, kindness, finer senses, emotions developed, more courteous, teach embroidery, desire for motherhood, philanthropy, love of beauty, memory, mending, originality, patience, power, womanliness, truthfulness, keep indoors, show mother the child's traits, makes pure in thought, respectful, danger of too many accessories, harmed by too light treatment and remarks by parents, care for doll's body helps to know and care for their own.

Some individual opinions of parents and teachers are quite fully expressed: "they keep children from growing old;" "best of all is the reflex influence on the child of trying to teach her doll and of trying to set a good example;" "nice dolls make children more careful of them and they ascribe human qualities to them, while rude dolls that can be banged about and made to take any part stimulate a more elementary type of imagination;" "to imagine the rug an ocean and have a stick doll with frock that can be washed, gives the fancy something to do;" "she learned to read in order to read her a story;" "I had a strong wish to be as good as I thought my dolls were;" "children who care least for dolls love their own babies most later;" "dolls hurt my health by making me sit indoors and care too little for the company of other children; but they help me put myself in my parents' place;" "too fine dolls check fancy, beget restlessness and desire for everything, so there is a limit beyond which dolls should not go;" "when mothers fails to impress certain virtues, they need but to say how would you like to have your doll do it, to score their point;" "dolls might aid in geography, language, history, drawing, make visits to different countries, use foreign money, dress, food or be engineers, sailors, etc.;" "dolls might be brought to school and by teaching them children could learn their own lessons better;" "doll play reveals character and ideas, as Plato favored getting drunk occasionally to show out the real character;" "excess of the

doll passion, makes excitement, nervousness, worry, and some girls are teased into nervousness by their brothers for playing dolls."

The number and vast variety of objects more or less dollified well illustrate the remark of Hugo—that as birds may take almost every material for a nest, so nothing resists the childish instinct to find or make dolls out of everything, and stones, books, balls, buttons, stove-hooks, nails, bricks, wash-boards, flowers, pins, articles of food, objects with no trace of anything that can be called face, limbs or head, are made dolls. Hugo's Cosette dressed, hugged and put to sleep a naked sword. Occasionally immovable things like posts, stumps and even trees are more or less dollified. The quick imagination of childhood makes an eye out of a speck or a dot, and perhaps imagines the other features. This instinct cannot be entirely explained as nascent parenthood, but must include some element of the widespread animism, if not fetichism, of children and savages. The valuable study of Dr. Fewkes, the Roman games, the Doll Feast of Japan and some of the etymologies point this way, as do, perhaps, the rare cases of children who make God dolls, whipping them for watching, etc. The fear of the spirits of burned dolls, of black dolls, of evil eye, and some forms of special aversion point the same way. As the optic nerve, whether heated, chilled, touched with chemicals or electricity, can only respond by giving the sensation of light, so primitive humanity sees personality in everything. This again is abundantly proven in returns to another syllabus already worked up, illustrating children's feelings for inanimate as well as animate nature. However disconnected the words doll and idol, some psychic connection cannot be doubted. Not only is a doll the visible form of a non-existent person, as in Japan, of the Mikado and his wife; to Queen Victoria, of the Court

and theatrical personages ; and to other orientals of ancestors, but it may represent mythological beings or demigods, and evil or beneficent deities. Greek statues of the Olympians have been called stone dolls, and the iconoclastic rage which destroyed many of them expressed the instinct of the first commandment. As object lessons setting forth invisible beings in concrete form idolatry is perhaps as much more persistent than dolls, as memory of abstract is more persistent than that of concrete words in progressive aphasia, and for analogous reason. Idols may, perhaps, be valuable for object lessons in religion for children at the low pagan state and may yet have a *rôle* to play in elementary religious training, but their danger is analogous in kind to that sometimes feared for excessive and too prolonged doll cult, viz., that it may arrest the higher development of parental instincts, check interest in free play with children, and place puppets and dummies where real personalities ought to be. If deities were certain to appear later in concrete form and break the charm of idols, so that the danger of forever putting an unworthy symbol in place of that which it symbolizes could be as effectually obviated as interest in "meat babies" and live children were sure to supplant dolls, idolatry would lose its dangers. Both the psychological significance and the educational value of the image worship of the Catholic Church and of religious pictures, figures and of spiritual beings, are topics upon which carefully made home experiments and observations are needed and could be made, which would be of great value.

The relatively small proportion of dolls which represents infants, and the large proportion representing adults, shows again that the parental instinct is far less prominent in doll play than is commonly supposed. Nearly all the 132 dolls of Queen Victoria were adults and represented prominent personages.

On every hand we see that a large part of the charm of doll play is the small scale of the doll world, which brings it not only into the limited range of the child's senses and knowledge, but focuses and intensifies affection and all others feelings. A large part of the world's terms of endearment are diminutives, and to its reduced scale the doll world owes much of its charm. The cases of fear of dolls are almost always of large dolls, the charm of which comes out only well on in the doll period and as exceptions to the rule. Even feared and hated objects excite pleasure when mimicked on a small scale. Moreover, relations are better seen in a world of small things. A small eye or mind cannot readily take in a fully dressed lady. Yet again a child can work its feeble will on objects with a completeness which is inversely as their size. Smallness indulges children's love of feeling their superiority, their desire to boss something and to gain their desires along lines of least resistance or to vent their reaction to the parental tyranny of anger. Maggie Tulliver drove nails through her doll's head to vent her anger at her aunt, but when the reaction came drew them out and poulticed the wounds. There may be often danger in a scale too small, as that of Queen Victoria's dolls ranging from three to nine inches long, for thirty-two of which she made dresses, working handkerchiefs half an inch square, yet to make small will always be of itself alone a most effective pedagogic method, and will always exert a potent fascination. In Japan it is a fashion to make everything severely small for children. Our returns do not show any law of relationship between the size of the doll and the size or age of the child, save that the extremes of large and small develop their chief charm well on in the doll period. Things large, like things far, fail of exciting interest, and of being comprehended by children, and are almost as effectively out of their

range as things microseopic are for adult eyes. As the microscope and telescope bring minute and distant objects within our purview, so a doll microcosm opens up a world of relationship so large, and simplifies things so complex as to be otherwise closed to the infant mind. If we take a large view of the doll problem it thus comprises most of the most important questions of education.

That boys are naturally fond of and should play with dolls as well as girls there is abundant indication. One boy in a family of girls, or boys who are only children, often play with dolls to seven or eight years of age. It is unfortunate that this is considered so predominantly a girl's play. Most boys abandon it early or never play, partly because it is thought girlish by adults as well as by children. Of course, boy life is naturally rougher and demands a wider range of activities. The danger, too, of making boy milliners is of course obvious, but we are convinced that on the whole more play with girl dolls by boys would tend to make them more sympathetic with girls as children, if not more tender with their wives and with women later. Again, boys, as well as girls, might be encouraged to play with boy dolls more than at present, with great advantage to both. Boys, too, seem to prefer exceptional dolls—clowns, brownies, colored, Eskimo, Japanese, etc. Boys, too, seem fonder than girls of monkey and animal dolls, and are often very tender of these, when they maltreat dolls in human shape. Again, dolls representing heroes of every kind and non-existent beings, dragons and hobgoblins, find their chief admirers among boys. A boy of six I know was fascinated with a rude jack-o'-lantern, would lie on the floor and talk to it by the hour, ask it questions and get what he deemed real answers, and was charmed by its horrid features. Boys are little prone to doll luxury or elaborate paraphernalia, and are content with ruder dolls than

girls, and the doll function is naturally far less developed than with girls.

In discussing the degree and kind of reality of the doll world, we approach one of the most difficult of psychological problems. Children seem to delight in giving way to illusions, and even delusions here, which it is extremely difficult for the adult mind to understand. Often in the midst of the most absorbing play, the slightest criticism, a word of appeal to reason, the most trivial fact of real life, annihilates in an instant the entire doll cosmos. The wedding, school, funeral, is unfinished, the half-dressed doll dropped in the most painful attitude and left in the cold, perhaps, for an indefinite period. Sometimes we see traces of a struggle almost painful between faith and doubt, either of which may triumph. The doll may have a definite personality, be a real member of the family and not a toy or a "hybrid between a baby and a fetich," be a real part of the child's self, be fanned, its bruises rubbed and wept over; or, again, as in one case, may be the hero of a vividly fancied romance, lose money, work its way out west, become rich, travel east, be shipwrecked on a desert island, etc., real personalities may lose interest in comparison with it, and all this may be kept up with some consistency for years—one normal woman of twenty-seven, and another of forty still play with dolls—absorption in the play blotting out the grossest incongruities, the doll being a real companion and crony, sharing every secret and confidence in solitude *a deux*, on journeys and elsewhere, so that the child's psychic life seems entirely bound up with it. The subjective and objective, and will, feeling and knowledge are strangely mixed. One child had tried all her life to keep her doll from knowing she was not alive. Dolls are buried without dying, fed without eating, bathed without water, now good, now bad, now happy, now tearful, without the slightest change,

the child furnishing the motive power, and all its moods being mirrored in *alter ego*. It seems to be at about the age of six, three years before the culmination of the doll passion, that the conflict between fancy and reality becomes clearly manifest. Abandonment to the doll illusion and the length of the doll period seems less in the western than the eastern children, and decreases as dolls and their accessories become elaborate. With every increase of knowledge of anatomy or of the difference between living tissue and dead matter, between life and mechanism, this element of doll play must wane.

Perhaps nothing so fully opens up the juvenile soul to the student of childhood as well-developed doll play. Here we see things which the childish instinct often tends to keep secret fully revealed. It shows out the real nature which Plato thought so important that he advised drunkenness as a revealer of character. The doll often fears ghosts, lightning, and becomes conscious of sex as the child does. Flogging the doll for not being in the right place, being untidy, etc., often marks the rise of the child's consciousness of order and cleanliness. Whispered confidences with the doll are often more intimate and sacred than with any human being. The doll is taught those things learned best or in which the child has most interest. The little mother's real ideas of morality are best seen in her punishments and rewards of her doll. Her favorite foods are those of her doll. The features of funerals, weddings, schools and parties which are re-enacted with the doll are those which have most deeply impressed the child. The child's moods, ideals of life, dress, etc., come to utterance in free and spontaneous doll play. Deaf girls teach their dolls the finger alphabet, blind ones sometimes want bandages or glasses for their dolls. I know a mother of a sickly child who says she can anticipate the symptoms of all the illnesses of her daughter

because they are first projected upon the doll before the child has become fully conscious of them in herself. Children often express their own desire for goodies euphemistically by saying "Dolly wants it." Thus the individuality of children sometimes is more clearly revealed in the characters they give their dolls than in their own traits. Long-kept dolls thus often grow up, as it were, with the child, their infantile qualities expanding into those of childhood and then youth. Paper dolls, often with picture food, which seem more ideal and more often associated with fairy stories, betray the evanescent stages of the doll psychosis as it fades into adult life.

Is doll play an early cropping out of mother love, as Schneider and Victor Hugo and others think? And are dolls representatives of future children? This appears to be true only in a limited and partial sense, and we must readjust our views upon this point. Some mothers, very fond of their children now, never cared much for dolls, while many of our returns show that unmarried women and childless wives have been most enthusiastic devotees of dolls, and in such cases the doll cult seems often to be most prolonged. It also seems natural for small boys. Certainly other functions are more pronounced. There seems to be a premonition of the parental instinct in early childhood which fades as the dawn of adolescence approaches, as the foetal hair falls off to make place for a ranker growth much later. The saying that the first child is the last doll is, I believe, not true of normal women. The treatment of and feeling toward a doll and a child are more unlike than the teeth of first and second dentition. That the first may hypertrophy and dwarf the second is undoubted. Indeed, it is just possible that the ideal mother never plays dolls with great abandon. Despite the increased extent of doll play, its intensity seems a little on the wane among the best people, and too many acces-

sories lessen the educational value of this play in teaching children to put themselves in the parent's place, in deepening love of children, and of motherhood.

The educational value of dolls is enormous, and the protest of this paper is against longer neglect of it. It educates the heart and will, even more than the intellect, and to learn how to control and apply it will be to discover a new instrument in education of the very highest potency. Every parent and every teacher who can deal with individuals at all should study the doll habits of each child, now discouraging and repressing, now stimulating by hint or suggestion. There should be somewhere (a) a doll museum, (b) a doll expert to keep the possibilities of this great educative instinct steadily in view, and (c) careful observations upon children of kindergarten, primary and grammar grades should be instituted, as at an experiment station, in order to determine just what is practicable. Children with French dolls incline to practice their little French upon them; can this tendency be utilized in teaching a foreign language to young children? Some children read stories in order to tell them to their dolls, and one learned to read by the strength of this motive; with what proportion of children can this be helpful? Many children learn to sew, knit, and do millinery work, observe and design costumes, acquire taste in color and even prepare food for the benefit of the doll. Children who are indifferent to reading for themselves sometimes read to their dolls and learn things they would not otherwise do, in order to teach them, or are clean, to be like them. They are good to set them a good example, compose poetry and write compositions for them, their naughtiness is reduced by asking them how they would like their dolls to do so; and to be as good as they think their dolls to be is sometimes a high ideal. Goethe reproduced dramas with puppets in a doll theatre, as

several of our correspondents have done. To make them represent heroes in history or fiction, to have collections illustrating costumes of different countries, the Eskimo hut, the Indian teepee, the cowboy's log cabin, to take them on imaginary journeys with foreign money is not merely to keep children young, cheerful, out of bad company, but it is to teach geography, history and morals, nature, etc., in the most objective possible way. Plenty of toy animals, figures representing different vocations and trades, poor and rich, etc., would be not only taking the dolls to kindergarten and school, but would bring rudimentary sociology, ethics and science in their most needed and effective form there, too. Dolls are a good school for children to practice all they know. Children are at a certain period interested to know what is inside things, especially dolls; could not manikin dolls be made that were dissectible enough to teach anatomy? Would not dolls and their furnishings be among the best things to make in manual-training schools? and why are dolls which represent the most original, free and spontaneous expressions of the play instinct so commonly excluded from kindergarten, where they could aid in teaching almost everything?

XIII. ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES.

Doctor Gustav Schlegel writes in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. VII, No. 1:

"Dolls are of recent origin in Europe. In the beginning of the XVth century, during the reign of mad Charles VI of France, an Italian, named Pusello, came from Padua to France with thirty mules packed with boxes and hung with jingling bells. He had in these boxes wooden images of 96 empresses and other celebrated women of the old Roman Empire, carved

after statues and coins. He showed them everywhere, gaining a considerable fortune by their exposition. At last the counsellors of the King called him to court, in order to amuse His Majesty. When he came to the explanation of the statuette of *Poppea*, who, it is pretended, was killed by Nero by a kick in her belly, the king listened with the greatest attention, and at last bought the statuette of *Poppea* for 50 Parisian sols, about 300 francs of present currency. The king's example was soon followed, and every nobleman bought such a little statuette; and, as the king's one was that of *Poppea*, every one called his puppet *Poppea*, of which name the words *Poppée*, *Pouppée*, and finally *Poupée* are said to have been derived.

"We leave this etymology to the responsibility of the old chronicles and observe that it is more likely the word *Poupée* is derived from the Latin *pupa*, a girl (Comp. *pupus*, a boy, *pupulus*, a little boy—all derived from the Skt. root *push*, to nourish [Pott, *Ety-mol. Forschungen*, etc., Vol. I, p. 193]). However, it appears that such *pouppées* or dolls came at that time in vogue as playthings for girls.

"Children in Amoy play with solid puppets made of baked clay, called *Hai dzi-a*, or 'babies;' and Douglas even quotes the saying, *Kah na hai dzi-a*, equivalent to our saying, 'As fair as a doll,' said of a pretty child.

"Puppets for theatrical performances were long known in China—but from these to the doll as a plaything for little girls is a long distance, and Chinese girls never played with them.

"Probably the doll, as an article to play with for little girls, has been equally imported into Japan by the Dutch."

Dr. J. Walter Fewkes writes: "The Tusayan custom of giving the symbolism of a god to the doll, to which you refer, may be limited to that interesting people, but I suspect that it has a deep significance, and may

show a universal relationship between child concepts and primitive social cult development. The Tusayan name for a doll is *tihu*, personification, not far from *είδολον* in meaning. A dramatic dance in which gods are personified by men (masked) is spoken of as *tihuni*, we personate (gods). I find, in studying the Tusayan calendar, as a whole, that dolls resembling Katcinas are made in *Powamu*, the February ceremony, as well as at *Niman*, in July, and presented to the little girls in the same way;* never given to boys.

"Just before I left Cambridge, last November, I installed my collection of Tusayan dolls in the upper story of the Peabody Museum, and if you happen that way, you may find it interesting to see them.† A few more were collected last summer, but all duplicates. I noticed last August that one Tusayan child had a China doll hanging to the rafters of her mother's home, with her *Katcina* dolls, and she supposed it represented a *Pahano* (American) *Katcina*.

"There is a belief current that the doll made in the kiva and given to the girls is an offering or prayer-bearer of the maker to the divinity referred to, and I have noticed small dolls in shops with pahos. I recall, as I write, a diminutive specimen on the cleft of the Mesa west of Walpi, where the eagle is buried.

"The numerous references to dolls in ethnographic writings shed little light on the question how the children regard their dolls, and I fear I can afford you

* By mothers of girls after having bartered them with Katcinas.

† This collection of dolls, made by the Indians on sacred ground, as exact miniatures of their old, outgrown tribal fetiches and idols, is remarkably complete and interesting, as is also, in respect to variety, the more varied collection stuffed away in the Smithsonian Institute. Dr. Fewkes has in *Archiv. für Eth.*, Vol. VII, pp. 45-73, a full account of these Tusayan dolls and customs, illustrated with a large number of handsome colored plates.

little help. It is very difficult to draw the line between figures used as idols and those used as dolls in prehistoric times. Although I found several stone animals in the graves of Sikyalki, a *prehistoric* ruin, three miles from Walpi, where most of my dolls were collected, I found no dolls there. I have an explanation for this, but highly speculative as yet. Probably the doll-making is a part of the Katcina cult, which is foreign to *prehistoric* Tusayan. At Court, in all the much decorated Sikyatki ceramic, I found no Katcina heads represented. Yet the archaic cults of Tusayan, like *Lalakonti Mamzrauti*, etc., have wooden figures on their altars.

"Since I wrote my doll article I have seen two most instructive winter ceremonials of Tusayan ritual, the *Powamu* and *Palulukonti*. In both of these, which are *Katcina*, *tihus* (dolls) are made in the kivas. On the culminating days these dolls are bartered for food in a ceremonial way. You will find in my Snake Memoir (Jour. Amer. Eth. and Arch., Vol. IV), a description of a game which occurs for four days after the Snake Dance. It is called *Nuitiwa*. This occurs in *Powamu* and *Palulukonti* in the Kivas, but instead of bowls a *masked* person holds up a *tihu* and maids and women struggle to obtain them, rewarding the men with food. The men who hold them are called Huiyan or Barter *Katcinas*. With this new knowledge we now know of dolls made ceremonially in *Niman Katcina* = *Katcinas*, go home, *Powamu Katcina* = bean-planting, and *Palulukonti* = snake, sun, or corn-planting ceremony. Now *Katcinas* are, I believe, divinized ancestors. So there is some connection between doll cult and ancestor worship; what? *quien sabe?*"

W. E. Griffis, in his "Games and Sports of Japanese Children," Tr. of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Vol. II, p. 132, 3, London, 1882, says: "On the third day of the third month is held the *Hina matsuri*. This is

the day especially devoted to the girls, and to them it is the greatest day in the year. It has been called, in some foreign works on Japan, the 'Feast of Dolls.' Several days before the *matsuri*, the shops are gay with the images bought for this occasion and which are on sale only at this time of year. Every respectable family has a number of these splendidly dressed images, which are from four inches to a foot in height, and which accumulate from generation to generation. When a daughter is born in the house during the previous year, a pair of *hina* or images are purchased for the little girl, which she plays with till grown up. When she is married her *hina* are taken with her to her husband's house, and she gives them to her children, adding to the stock as her family increases. The images are made of wood, or enamelled clay. They represent the Mikado and his wife; the *kuge* or old Kiôto nobles, their wives and daughters, the court minstrels, and various personages in Japanese mythology and history. A great many other toys, representing all the articles in use in a Japanese lady's chamber, the service of the eating table, the utensils of the kitchen, travelling apparatus, etc., some of them very elaborate and costly, are also exhibited and played with on this day. The girls make offerings of *sake* and dried rice, etc., to the effigies of the emperor and empress, and then spend the day with toys, mimicking the whole round of Japanese female life, as that of child, maiden, wife, mother, and grandmother. In some old Japanese families in which I have visited, the [150] display of dolls and images was very large and extremely beautiful.

"On this day the entire female sex appear in holiday attire. The whole household store of dolls, among which are many old family treasures, are brought out for the girls and set up in a special room. The living dolls entertain the dead ones with food and drink, the latter consisting, in the absence of milk, of shiro-sake

(white sweet cake). In Kio-bashidori, at Tokio, where the shops are large and splendid, and some of the dolls expensive, there is great activity on this day. Formerly the 'Feast of Dolls' fell, as a rule, in April, when the favorite sakura trees are in blossom, and, as it resembles our peach tree," Europeans have named it the Festival of the Peach Flowers. J. J. Rein, "Japan: Travels and Reseaches," p. 439; London, 1884.

"On this occasion, mothers adorn the chamber with blossoming peach boughs and arrange therein an exhibition of all the dolls which their daughters have received; these represent the Mikado and Court personages, for whom a banquet is prepared which is consumed by the guests of the evening." Bayard Taylor, p. 200; New York, 1883.

"The greatest day in the year for the boys is on the fifth day of the fifth month. On this day is celebrated what is known as the 'Feast of Flags.' Previous to the coming of the day the shops display for sale the toys and tokens proper to the occasion. These are all of a kind suited to young Japanese masculinity. They consist of effigies of heroes and warriors, generals and commanders, soldiers on foot and horse, the genii of strength and valor, wrestlers, etc. The toys represent the equipments and regalia of a daimiô's procession, all kinds of things used in war, the contents of an arsenal, flags, streamers, banners, etc. A set of these toys is bought for every son born in the family. Hence, in old Japanese families the display of the fifth day of the fifth month is extensive and brilliant."

In Corea, at the children's festival, which falls on the 8th day of the 4th month, toys are universally sold, the most popular being the Ot-tok-i, or erect standing one. This is an image made of paper, with a rounded bottom filled with clay, so that it always stands upright; it is feminine, and has many counter-

parts throughout the world, and is a possible survival of the image of a deity anciently worshipped in Corea at this season, the above date being the birthday of Buddha, and this toy perhaps having once been his image. Still more anciently this was the date of the celebration of the vernal equinox.

In Japan, the sitting toy is made to represent the idol Daruma, and its name, *Oki agari kobashi*, means the little priest that rises up. They must be weighted to rise quickly. *Tuschi-ning-yo* means clay images of men and horses once buried with the dead to take the place of living sacrifices. Its French name, *Le Poussah*, is Buddha, cf., Butzman. This toy, therefore, is a common plaything, carved by an idol maker, and once an object of worship. (Abridged from a letter by Stewart Culin.) See also "Korean Games," by Stewart Culin.

M. Ollivier Beauregard in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Dec., 1894, p. 689, says that there are two chief theatricals of dolls in Java, the *Topeng*, mute mask, and *Wayang*, spectacle in shadow. In the latter a sort of bard rhapsodist operates the dolls and tells them their rôles of love and war to musical accompaniment. The dolls represent historical and mythological personages, and this is thought the best means of teaching history and enforcing its morals early. The spectators are often so interested that they watch the play all night. These Javanese marionettes are of three kinds: 1, very ancient gods and heroes; 2, celebrants of special festivals; 3, common dramatic figures. This is the most important of the native amusements, coming at the time of the New Year's Feast, which, in 1890, was from April 21st to May 21st. W. Basil Worsfold, in his "A Visit to Java," says: "This is very simple business, beneath a Punch and Judy show in point of art, but the audience watch the puerile display for five or six hours without intermission. The theatre

consists of pantomimic representations, with which is mingled a ballet, the basis of which is ancient tradition."

James Mooney, of the Bureau of Ethnology, writes : " Among the Mokis and Pueblo tribes, generally, dolls are commonly representations of mythologic characters, and consequently have some religious significance. I doubt if this be the case among any other tribes, unless, possibly, among the totem-pole tribes of the Northwest coast. Among others, probably, and with the prairie tribes certainly, dolls are simply girls' toys, as with us, and have no other purpose, and are not used by boys. In other words, as you say, their use is from 'a common human instinct.' The Kiowas, with whom I am most closely associated, have a religious dread of making tangible representation of mythologic beings. Little girls frequently carry and dress up puppies as dolls. Boys never play with dolls. Girls 'play house' with their dolls, as with us."

He adds : " With Kiowas and other prairie tribes, dolls are simply girls' TOYS. The dolls represent both sexes, but, so far as my observation goes, are used only by girls. Indians lay great stress upon manly distinctions, and boys and girls rarely use the same toys or games."

R. J. Dodge, in *Our Wild Indians*, p. 190, says : " The little Indian girls are very fond of dolls, which their mothers make and dress with considerable skill and taste. Their baby houses are miniature teepees, and they spend as much time and take as much pleasure in such play as white girls."

Speaking of Eskimo toys, sledges, and dolls, Dr. Boas says : " The last are made in the same way by all the tribes, a wooden body being clothed with scraps of deer skin cut in the same way as the clothing of men." *Rep. Bureau Eth.*, 1884-85, p. 571.

" The Seminole has a doll, i.e., a bundle of rags, a

stick with a bit of cloth wrapped about it, or something that serves just as well as this. The children build little houses for their dolls and name them 'camps.'" Clay MacCauley, Rep. Bureau Eth., 1883-84.

We see thus that among the Pueblo Indians, the Koreans and Chinese, dolls are exact imitations in miniature of old tribal fetiches or idols no longer worshipped, made or sold on a special feast day, or given only to girls with formal ceremony. Among the Pueblos this day was the primitive corn feast. Among the Koreans and Chinese it was the day once celebrated as the birthday of Buddha. In both these languages the word for doll is from the same root as the word for fetich or idol. In Japan, at a yearly feast, all the dolls of many generations are present, and the living dolls entertain the dead ones. Again it is possible that the ancient custom of Roman maidens of hanging up their dolls to Venus when they loosed their girdles, was primitively a religious rite of consecrating play-children to the goddess of fecundity. Still, in most languages the words for fetich and for doll have at best only a secondary connection, and that doll play is degraded fetich worship is certainly unproven. The exact origin and meaning of the Lares and Penates is too uncertain to base argument upon.

Dolls are found buried along with the children in the sarcophagi of the ancient Egyptians. A little girl figure was found in one of the buried cities with a doll clasped to her breast.

Baring Gould, in his *Strange Survivals*, p. 139, London, 1892, says: "A white marble sarcophagus occupies the centre of one of the rooms in the basement of the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The sarcophagus contains the bones and dust of a little girl, and by the side is the child's wooden doll, precisely like the dolls made and sold to-day. In the catacombs of

St. Agnes, one end of a passage is given up to the objects found in the tombs of the early Christians, and among these are some very similar dolls taken out of the graves of the Christian children."

W. H. Holmes, Bureau Eth. Rep., 1884-5, p. 152, thinks that dolls found with other relics in graves in the province of Chiriqui were possibly toys, but more probably tutelary images.

Miss Alice Fletcher writes: "Among the Indian tribes with which I am familiar there is no special treatment of dolls. All depends upon the particular child's imagination and imitative powers.

"As far as my observation goes, and I can learn, the religious ceremonies of the tribe are not mimicked, although some of the practices of the same are. The religious rites of the white race are reproduced by the children. As far as I can yet discover, there is no relation between dolls and a fetich or any emblem."

XIV. ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

Doll, says the Century Dictionary, is certainly not derived from idol, and suggests its derivation from a playful contraction of Dorothy. Other lexicographers agree, suggesting possible derivations from Old Dutch *dol*, a whipping top; or *dollen*, to rave. Nowhere is there any certainty as to its derivation.

Skeat (Etymological Dic., p. 176) says: "Doll, a child's puppet (Dutch), originally a plaything. Old Dutch *dol*, a whipping top. Compare Dutch *dollen* to sport, be frolicsome. From the same root as Dutch *dol* (English dull), mad. Compare provincial Eng. *Doil*, strange nonsense; *dold*, stupid: *dale*, mad, *dalics*, a child's game.

Doll, properly a bunch of rags. Frisian *dok*, German *docke*; a little bundle as of thread, a wisp of straw, also a doll; Swabian *döckle*, a doll; *dokhelm*, to

play with a doll. Banff (Scotland), *doll*, a large lump of anything. So in Finnish *mippa*, a flock, rag, patch.

Trench says that *doll* is not found in English before the time of Dryden.

Nukki, *nuket*, a doll, *lusoria puellarum ex panniculis*.

Kopai = dolls made of clay and painted, cf. Plato's *Theat.*, p. 136. Demosth., *Fil.* 1, p. 47. Only late writers mention wax. These clay figures were not merely children's dolls (also called *νυμφαί*), but also images of all sorts.

Δαγυς a wax doll. *Theoc.* 2, 110, used in magic rites; a puppet was probably an Oriental word, *πλαγγων* also = wax puppet, doll.

Pupa in Latin means a girl, then a puppet doll.

Prof. Toy states: "In the Semitic languages there is no connection between words for *doll* and *fetich*, deity, etc. In the ancient (pre-Christian) Semitic languages, we know of no word for *doll*. Arabic (and so Persian) has a word which means *plaything* (from verb *play*). If there was ever such connection in these languages it has vanished."

In T'oung Pao, Dr. Gustav Schlegel says that "dolls of great variety exist in Japan, and are imported into Amoy, where they bear the name of *tsit sien i-a*, after the name of the Buddhist idols called *tsit sien put*, which Mr. Douglas translates by 'solid image.'" (*Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect*, p. 388 A). (Dr. Schlegel thinks "stuffed image" a better translation.) "In Canton these foreign dolls are called *Kung tsai* or *Yeung P'osat*; i.e., 'Western idols' (*Bôdisattras*), which latter name clearly shows wherefrom dolls have been introduced into China. The dolls made by the Korean girls strongly remind us of the English doll, which properly meant a "bunch of rags." "

In Frisian they were called *dok*—German *docke*; in Swabian *dockle*. King John says:

"If I were mad I should forget my son,
Or madly think a *babe of clouts* were he."

Doctor Gatschet writes: "In the Nahuatl there were and *are* two terms for *doll*, *nenetl* and *quauh-cococo-netl*. *Nenetl* means (1) the nature of woman (vulva); (2) idol; (3) doll. Any one who saw the most ancient figurines of stone or clay representing doll and idols, or rather caricatures of them, from ancient Greek, Asiatic, Syriac and other Oriental graves, must have been struck by the constancy by which the vulva is represented there, in large and sometimes enormous proportions. This recalls the *nenetl* as above. *Quauh-cococonetl* is composed of *quauitl* pieces of wood, block, stick, and of *conetl* offspring, girl or boy; a word principally used by women.

"In one of the Algonquin languages, studied by me, *doll* is the same word as baby. Was it Shawnee?

"In our Cree, Ojibwe, and Delaware dictionaries, *doll* is not mentioned at all.

"In Hidatsa or Minnitari, Upper Missouri River, *doll* is *makadishtake*; here *kadista* is *small, little*; *makadista*, young person, or child; —*ke* instrumental suffix. The whole word thus means: 'what is used by a young person.'

"In Klamath and Modoc, of Oregon, *ámash* is *doll*, for which I know no derivation.

"The Blackfoot language has *atunskán*, plur. (dolls) *atunskaniks*. (Rev. Tims, Gram. and Vocabulary, p. 127.)

"The Micmac has for *doll* *amsudāgan*, spelt by S. T. Rand *amsoodaagun*. The ending *gun* is the well-known Algonquin instrumental suffix—*agan*—*hagan*, etc., —*ikan*.

"In the Tonkaway language *doll* is *yā'kwenan*, literally, 'something made,' either manufactured object, or manufactured person or animal, likeness of such one

"The Passamaquoddy word for doll, which is *ampskudahekan*, and the plural *ammpskudahekanek*, literally means figure of picture as made on wood and other substance; in this instance there is no connection with the word of God, supreme being or idol."

Prof. Edward S. Morse writes: "There is no relation between idol and doll in Japanese. *Ningio* = doll, *nin* = human, *gio* = image. *Gūzō* = idol, *gu* = image, and *zo* = figure. *Omamosi* = fetich = honorable guard or *Kami* = God, literally upper, anything superior; even the government is called *Kami*."

Dr. D. G. Brinton writes: "In the few languages in which I have compared the words, I do not find a common radical to the word for doll and for divinity. Thus in the Micmac dialect of the Algonquin, we have for doll *amsoo-dāāgān*, which has no relation to *manto*, but rather with *ris*, *me-tauāgan*, a plaything from the verb to play. In the Nahuatl, doll is 'quauh-cococonetl,' and 'nenetl.' The former word means 'little child of wood'; the latter, 'little idol or image.' 'Nenetl' is originally the female generative organ, and by transfer the neonatus or little creature which comes from it; hence 'conetl,' male or female infant. The words have nothing to do with 'teotl,' divinity.

"While certain dolls may be made in the image of fetiches or idols, the sentiment of playing with dolls seems altogether too spontaneous and independent to have been derived from ceremonies."

Dr. Franz Boas writes: "In the languages with which I am familiar, and so far as I am able to look into my material at present, the word for doll means 'figure of a man' (Eskimo), or 'carving,' or figure, or something of that sort, *inuyak* (Eskimo) doll, *K'ek* (Kwakiutl) doll = carving." Lucian M. Turner, Bureau Ethnol. Rep., 1889-99, p. 198, gives the meaning of the Eskimo word for doll, *inug-wak*, as little man. Dr. Boas says: "The Eskimo do not

make images of the tornait or other supernatural beings in whom they believe," yet they play dolls.

Miss Alice Fletcher writes: "In the Omaha language, the word applied to doll is the same as that signifying a child, with the addition of the word signifying clay. This composite word probably has come into use from the dolls furnished by traders, these having composition heads. The word, however, is now generally applied to all kinds of dolls, even those made of rags, and sticks and corn cobs. Children frequently make clay images and play with them. I have some curious specimens in my collections.

"The Dakota word is of similar construction to the Omaha, meaning literally made-boy. The Omaha name is Zhingazhinga-wathathun, child-clay, Dakota: Ho-ksin-ka-ga-pi, boy or child, made or cut out."

Mr. Moonly writes: "In Kiowa, god is *dakra*, doll is *heni*. *Dakia* is from *dai*, 'medicin,' 'sacred,' etc., *kia* 'man.' *Heni* is not clear, but the *i* is a suffix signifying child, offering, or little. I do not know the Cherokee name for doll, but it is not *adawehi*, signifying a 'supernatural being,' nor is it anything similar."

During the two years that have intervened since the first syllabus was issued this subject has steadily grown in both interest and importance, to the editors' minds, until this paper seems but the faintest and feeblest beginning of the many more special investigations that ought to be made in its field. Where could the philologist, e. g., find a richer field for the study of the principle of analogy, the law of diminutives, and of conferring names generally, and I know not what else, than in a far more extended and systematic investigation of dolls' names? The whole subject of idolatry, the use and psychology of images and pictures of God, Christ, angels, saints, etc., suggests, but only begins to reveal its richness here. When we reflect on the rôle that tutelary and ances-

tral images, puppets, heroic and mythological dolls have played in the past, the question must force itself upon our minds whether not only some well-devised form not only of image worship, but even of feticism, might not be made as helpful in early religious as object lessons have been in secular education since Comenius. We do use pictures and statuettes of classical mythology to great advantage; are we now advanced and strong enough to utilize the powerful instinct of idolatry still further, so as to get its stimulus and avoid its great and obvious dangers? Children's ideas of life, death, soul, virtue and vice, disease, sickness, all the minor morals of dress, toilet, eating, etc., of family, state, church, theology, etc., are all as open as day, here, to the observer, and, although unconscious to themselves, almost anything within these large topics can be explored by the observing, tactful adult, without danger of injuring that naïveté of childhood which is both its best trait and its chief charm. What topic yet proposed for child-study is not, at least in part, illustrated here?

Imperfect as this study is, however, alas for the tact and intuitive power of the parent and kindergarten that does not find in the children's and mother's records above a wealth of helpful and immediately practical suggestion for their daily task of unfolding childhood from within. We have carefully refrained from psychologic or pedagogic generalizations, which have been often very tempting, because the time has not come for conclusions or specific rules of application yet. Prematureness and rashness here would involve danger of great harm. But, as further researches are needed on the scientific side, special studies on the practical side are no less desiderated. All readers, therefore, who have used or shall use dolls in the nursery, kindergarten, Sunday or day school, or anywhere else, and find ways of making them a help in any church or school study, in causing

children to be more tender, obedient, neat or otherwise better, will confer a favor by forwarding to the PEDAGOGICAL SEMINARY anything written or printed, or otherwise descriptive or illustrative of such work.

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